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STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

EDITED BY WILLIAM PEERY

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Foreword

The Renaissance Society of America is most happy to be able to mark the first year of its life with a publication, *Studies in the Renaissance*. The organization of learning is no doubt in itself a good thing, to which American scholars are passionately addicted. Those who acted as midwives at the birth of the Renaissance Society—and this includes all who in faith and confidence sent in their essential dues—well know the many material advantages that may legitimately be expected to follow from the irruption of this newcomer into the select world of learned societies. But the real reason, one suspects, for the quite surprising response, which confounded all skeptics and forced the captious to capitulate, is not material but spiritual: it is good to join in comradeship with those who find an equal delight in one of the most fascinating fields of human inquiry.

Humanistic scholars are notoriously lone wolves; Burckhardt long ago emphasized their individualism. All they really ask is the time to work upon their projects; such requests the foundations are fortunately as yet not wholly unwilling to support. What no right-minded and properly subversive foundation will support, without a brainstorm, however, is publication. Hence the provision of opportunities for publication is the most pressing problem in the scholarly study of the Renaissance.

We at least have published a book: here it is. We hope this volume is merely the earnest of what we shall be able to do in the future. We should in all fairness give warning, however, that this book is not the result of wise planning and foresight on our part. It is rather the gift of the Goddess Fortuna, who inspired the University of Texas to offer to publish on our behalf such a volume. To Professor William Peery, the moving spirit behind this generous offer, must go our thanks for his enterprise. And to him must go our gratitude for his patient and unremitting solicitation, organization, and editing of the present volume. To the various contributors also we are indebted for their willingness to lend the distinction of their labors to these pages.

J. H. R., Jr.

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Recent Petrarch Publications

SINCE JANUARY, 1948, when my "Introductory Petrarch Bibliography" was published in *Philological Quarterly* (XVII, 27–36), there have appeared six notable editions of works of Petrarch.

The great new seventy-five volume collection called *La letteratura italiana, storia e testi,* which is being published in Milan and Naples by Ricciardi, under the general editorship of Raffaele Mattioli, Pietro Pancrazi, and Alfredo Schiaffini, is devoting two volumes to Petrarch; and the first of the two, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie latine*, edited by Ferdinando Neri, Guido Martellotti, the late Enrico Bianchi, and Natalino Sapegno, appeared in 1951. It contains complete editions of the *Canzoniere* and the *Triumphs;* a selection of lyrics not included in the *Canzoniere;* four substantial passages (totaling about twelve hundred lines) from the *Africa;* twenty-two of the *Epistolae metricae;* three of the *Eclogues;* three of the *Penitential Psalms;* and three of the minor Latin poems. The texts of the lyrics not included in the *Canzoniere* and of the selections from the *Africa,* the *Epistolae metricae,* and the *Eclogues* are better than any previous texts; and the other texts, though they do not supersede previous texts, are sound. The Latin selections are accompanied by careful Italian translations. The annotation throughout the volume is sparing but excellent. The companion volume is to contain extensive selections from the *De otio religiosorum,* the *De remediis utriusque fortunae,* the *De viris illustribus,* the *De vita solitaria,* the prose *Epistolae,* the *Invectives,* the *Rerum memorandarum libri,* and the *Secretum;* and it will provide, for most of the selections in question, better texts, Italian translations, and notes than are now available.

For some years Alberto Tallone has been publishing in Paris (Hôtel de Sagonne) *éditions de luxe* of Italian poets; and in 1949 he brought out an edition of the *Canzoniere* (bearing Petrarch's own title, *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*) which, in addition to being one of the most beautiful of modern books, offers a text of the *Canzoniere,* meticulously prepared by Gianfranco Contini, that is more minutely exact than any previously published text, especially in its scrupulous fi-

delity to Petrarch's own orthography. In the course of the long *Nota* in which Contini renders a detailed account of his work on the text, he takes occasion to pay a well-deserved tribute to the indispensability of the late Kenneth McKenzie's *Concordanza delle rime di Francesco Petrarca.* Strictly speaking, this is the edition from which scholars should now quote; but for practical reasons scholarly quotation will presumably continue to be, in general, from the excellent edition of Ezio Chiòrboli, published in 1930.

It has been known since the sixteenth century that in 1371 Petrarch wrote several tercets of a variant form of the *capitolo* (one of the *capitoli* of the *Triumph of Fame*) that begins *Io non sapea da tal vista levarme;* but only the first three tercets of this variant, which begins with the line *Poi che la bella e gloriosa donna,* were thought to have survived. Recently, however, Roberto Weiss found in a Harleian manuscript the 119 lines which appear to be all that Petrarch ever wrote of the supposedly lost variant; and he published them, admirably edited, in Rome, in Don Giuseppe De Luca's series, *Storia e letteratura,* in 1951. He shows that the variant form was drafted as a possible substitute for *Io non sapea* but was never completed.

Pier Giorgio Ricci, who is preparing Petrarch's *Invectives* for the *Edizione nazionale,* has recently published two of them separately, in excellent provisional editions. His edition of the *Invectiva contra quendam magni status hominem sed nullius scientie aut virtutis,* published in Florence by Le Monnier in 1949, supersedes the earlier edition by Vattasso. His edition of the *Invective contra medicum,* which had not been printed since the sixteenth century, was published in Rome, in the series *Storia e letteratura,* in 1950. In this volume Ricci includes also an edition of the fourteenth-century Italian translation of this invective by Domenico Silvestri.

The *De viris illustribus,* as originally planned, was to consist of a series of Lives extending from Romulus to Titus. In or about 1351, however, Petrarch decided to enlarge it at the beginning and at the end, by prefixing twelve pre-Romulean Lives, from Adam to Hercules, and adding twelve more Roman Lives, from Flaminius to Trajan. The twelve pre-Romulean Lives were written, presumably in the years 1351 and 1352, but not the other twelve. De Nolhac had published ten of the pre-Romulean Lives in 1891, and had argued that they were early drafts, soon rejected by Petrarch. In 1949 Guido Martellotti, who is preparing the *De viris illustribus* for the *Edizione nazionale,* demonstrated the true status of the pre-Romulean Lives in a brilliant study, "Linee di sviluppo dell'umanesimo petrarchesco," pub-

lished in *Studi petrarcheschi,* II, 51–80; and in the same volume, pages 81–93, he published the two Lives, those of Jacob and Joseph, that had not been published by De Nolhac.

An English translation, by Hans Nachod, of the last and best of Petrarch's invectives, the *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia,* is included in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man,* edited by Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, Jr., and published in 1948 by the University of Chicago Press. My translation of "Petrarch's Coronation Oration" was published in *PMLA,* LXVIII (1953), 1241–50.

A masterly bibliographical study by the late Carlo Calcaterra was published in 1949 under the title, "Il Petrarca e il petrarchismo," on pages 167–273 of the volume entitled *Questioni e correnti di storia letteraria,* which is itself the third of the four volumes that make up the set entitled *Problemi ed orientamenti critici di lingua e di letteratura italiana,* a co-operative work prepared under the general direction of the late Attilio Momigliano and published in Milan by Marzorati. Calcaterra's study opens with a general review of Petrarchan problems and the development of scholarly opinion with regard to them, and continues and concludes with an extensive classified and subclassified bibliography, in which the first five main sections deal respectively with catalogues of Petrarch manuscripts, collective editions of Petrarch, general Petrarch bibliographies, surveys of twentieth-century works on Petrarch, and general works on Petrarch, while the next five deal with special studies on the life of Petrarch, the question of Laura, Petrarchan humanism, the Italian poems of Petrarch, and his Latin works (this section has twenty-four subsections). The eleventh and final section, on Petrarchism, deals successively with general works on Petrarchism, Italian Petrarchism (by centuries), commentaries on the Italian poems of Petrarch, Petrarch and music, Petrarch and the fine arts, and Petrarchism outside of Italy. This last subsection has divisions for France, Germany, England and the United States, Spain, Portugal, Catalonia, Rumania, Hungary, the southern Slavic countries, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Russia.

The one periodical devoted exclusively to Petrarchan and closely related subjects is the *Studi petrarcheschi,* issued annually under the auspices of the Accademia Petrarca di Lettere Arti e Scienze of Arezzo. The first four volumes, for the years 1948–1951, were edited by Calcaterra, who before his death had almost completed work on the volume for 1952, which has recently been issued, with a commemorative article by Umberto Bosco. Publication is to be continued

under the direction of Bosco, who is eminently qualified for the task. Each of the five volumes thus far issued contains about three hundred pages. A typical volume contains about a dozen articles, four or five substantial reviews, and a number of reports or notices of various kinds. Articles and reviews alike are of high scholarly excellence and importance. The articles range in subject over the whole Petrarchan-Petrarchistic field. Thus Dante Bianchi, Calcaterra, Chiòrboli, Maggini, and others have written on the Italian poems of Petrarch; Bosco, Carrara, Martellotti, Raimondi, Ricci, Rotondi, and others on his Latin works; Calcaterra, Caretti, Cordié, Farinelli, Raimondi, and others on Petrarchism; and Billanovich, Calcaterra, T. E. Mommsen, Weiss, and others on other relevant subjects.

Among the most definitive of these studies are Bosco's "Particolari petrarcheschi. I. Precisazioni sulle 'Invective contra medicum' " (I [1948] 97–109) and Martellotti's "Linee di sviluppo dell'umanesimo petrarchesco" (II [1949], 51–80). Bosco traces and dates with a sure hand the succession of documents that marked Petrarch's polemic—a noteworthy, if acrimonious, episode in the long debate between the humanities and the sciences—with one of the physicians of Clement VI: Petrarch's original letter to the Pope; then an angry retort by the physician; then Petrarch's lengthy rejoinder; then the physician's reply thereto; and finally the *Invective,* in which the first of the four books is a revised form of Petrarch's first reply, while the last three constitute a ponderous demolition of the physician's defensive and offensive assertions.

Martellotti's study not only establishes the true relationship of the twelve pre-Romulean Lives to the main body of the *De viris,* thus revising a position taken by De Nolhac and accepted by Petrarch scholars in general (and by Martellotti himself in earlier years), but demonstrates the intimate relationship between Petrarch's work on these twelve Lives and his replacement of the original first *capitolo* of the *Triumph of Fame,* beginning *Nel cor,* by the two *capitoli* beginning *Da poi che Morte* and *Pien d'infinita,* and proves that both these phases of Petrarch's work result from a most significant enlargement of the range of his humanistic interest and from his determination to take advantage, in his own writings, of all new humanistic knowledge, whether corrective or additional, that came into his eager possession.

Of special interest to Shakespearean scholars are two articles by Pier Luigi Valente, "Petrarca e Shakespeare" (I [1948], 195–211)

and "Quesiti nell'interpretazione italiana dei sonetti shakespeariani" (III [1950], 171–81).

In and since 1948 Petrarchan studies have been published also in some fifty other periodicals, Italian, French, Portuguese, German, English, and American (the Italian periodicals in question include not only those devoted largely to articles on literary subjects, but also such others as the *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* and the *Rivista di storia delle scienze mediche e naturali*), in several *Mélanges,* as chapters in books, and in other publications of various types.

Among the European scholars whose contributions to Petrarchan knowledge have bulked largest in and since 1948 are—in addition to Bosco and Martellotti—Dante Bianchi, Billanovich, Ricci, Franco Simone, and Weiss. Bianchi has been devoting himself diligently to the very difficult task of endeavoring to determine the true authorship of many of the very large number of lyrics that have been more or less doubtfully attributed to Petrarch. Billanovich has been seeking to reconstruct the list of works owned by Petrarch and to derive therefrom fresh knowledge of the range and power of Petrarch's humanism—in other words, to produce an up-to-date replacement for De Nolhac's great but now outdated *Pétrarque et l'humanisme.* In the course of this enterprise he has examined numerous manuscripts in Italy, France, and England, identifying several as having belonged to Petrarch, and finding in them mounting evidence of the extraordinary nature of Petrarch's cultural service. The most remarkable of Billanovich's several recent publications are "Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy," in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XIV (1951), 137–208; "Il Boccaccio, il Petrarca e le più antiche traduzioni in italiano delle decadi di Tito Livio," in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana,* CXXX (1953), 311–37; and *I primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei classici latini,* a prolusion published by the University of Fribourg in 1953. Ricci has published articles relating to his provisional editions, other Petrarchan articles, a general review of Petrarchan studies published in the years 1944–50, and an excellent article on Petrarch in the new *Enciclopedia cattolica.* Simone, in articles published in the *Giornale storico* in 1950 and 1951, has examined thoroughly the influence of Petrarch in France in the first half of the sixteenth century—an influence in which the *De remediis* and the *Triumphs* played the largest parts. Weiss's *Il primo secolo dell'umanesimo* (Rome, 1949, in the series *Storia e letteratura*) brings to life the pre-Petrarchan humanists Geremia da

Montagnone and Geri d'Arezzo, and examines in detail Petrarch's relations with the Malatesta family. Other recent publications by Weiss—in addition to his edition of the *capitolo* of the *Triumphs* referred to above—concern Petrarch's study of Greek and his correspondence with Barbato da Sulmona (in the latter study Weiss prints a letter by Petrarch that had not previously been known).

In and since 1948 American scholars have published Petrarchan studies as follows: A. S. Bernardo, "The Importance of the Non-Love Poems of Petrarch's 'Canzoniere,'" in *Italica,* XXVII (1950), 302–12, and articles on Petrarch's use of dramatic dialogue and monologue in *Symposium,* V (1951), 302–316 and VII (1953), 92–119; Marcel Françon, articles on French Petrarchism in *French Studies,* IV (1950), 216–26, *Italica,* XXVII (1950), 211–13, and *Le français moderne,* XXI (1953), 179–83; J. G. Fucilla, articles on Iberian Petrarchism in *Hispanic Review,* XVII (1949), 233–42 and XX (1952), 200–11, *Comparative Literature,* I (1949), 267–71, *Modern Language Notes,* LXIV (1949), 110–15, *Quaderni ibero-americani,* No. 11 (1951), 100, and No. 13 (1953), 241–49, *Clavileño,* III (1952), 5–10, *Revista de filología española,* XXXV (1952), 113–17, and *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal,* IV (Madrid, 1953), 425–32; Lillian H. Hornstein, "Petrarch's Laelius, Chaucer's Lollius?" in *PMLA,* LXIII (1948), 64–84; P. O. Kristeller, "Petrarch's 'Averroists,'" in *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance,* XIV (1952), 59–65; the late Angelo Lipari, "Laura di Petrarca," in *Italica,* XXV (1948), 196–201; H. A. Mathes, "Petrarch's 'Tranquillo porto,'" in *Italica,* XXVI (1949), 15–22; T. E. Mommsen, "Un'antica raffigurazione del Petrarca poeta laureato," in *Studi petrarcheschi,* II (1949), 101–105, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," in *The Art Bulletin,* XXXIV (1952), 95–116, and "Rudolph Agricola's Life of Petrarch," in *Traditio,* VIII (1953), 367–86; Margaret Munsterberg, "The German Petrarch of 1532," in *Boston Public Library Quarterly,* III (1951), 280–87; Dayton Phillips, "Petrarch's Doctrine of Meditation," in *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities,* I (1951), 251–75; A. V. Roche, "Petrarch and the Felibres," in *Italica,* XXX (1953), 1–18; A. H. Schutz, "Provençal Sources of Vellutello's Commentary on the *Trionfi d'amore* of Petrarch," in *Italica,* XXVIII (1951), 104–107; Margaret Schlauch, "Griselda in Iceland," in *Speculum,* XXVIII (1953), 363–70; and Edward Williamson, "A Consideration of 'Vergine bella,'" in *Italica,* XXIX (1952), 215–28. Studies by other scholars mention Petrarch incidentally but valuably, as for instance S. H. Thomson's "Learning

at the Court of Charles IV," in *Speculum,* XXV (1950), 1–20, and B. L. Ullman's "The Library of the Sorbonne in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Septicentennial Celebration of the Founding of the Sorbonne College in the University of Paris* (Chapel Hill, 1953), 33–47. My own Petrarchan publications for the years concerned include *The Prose Letters of Petrarch: A Manual* (New York, 1951), *The Making of the Canzoniere and Other Petrarchan Studies* (Rome, 1951, in the series *Storia e letteratura*); articles in *Speculum,* XXV (1950), 374–77, XXVIII (1953), 754–75, *Comparative Literature,* II (1950), 327–42, *Modern Philology,* LI (1953), 9–17, *Medievalia et humanistica,* VIII (1954), 22–31, and *Modern Language Notes,* LXIX (1954), 92–96, that are not incorporated in either of the books just mentioned, and a chapter (X) on Petrarch in my *History of Italian Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

The major task facing Italian Petrarchan scholarship today is the completion of the *Edizione nazionale* of the works of Petrarch. The *Africa,* the *Epistolae familiares,* and the *Rerum memorandarum libri* were published before 1944, but no addition to the series has appeared since that time. The work is under the general direction of a commission of which Concetto Marchesi is president, and Billanovich (to whom I am very grateful for information as to the status of the edition), Bosco, Martellotti, and Mario Salmi are members. Various portions of the work had been or are now entrusted to the late Enrico Bianchi (the *Epistolae metricae*), Billanovich (the *Itinerarium* and the *Rime disperse*), Giuseppe De Luca (the *Penitential Psalms*), Alberto Del Monte (the *De remediis utriusque fortunae*), Martellotti (the *De viris illustribus*), Ricci (the *Invectives*), Aurelio Roncaglia (the *Triumphs*), the late Giuseppe Rotondi (the *De otio religiosorum*), Gustavo Vinay (the *Secretum*), and Bosco and Martellotti (the rest of the prose letters).

Other works in preparation and eagerly awaited are a new Italian translation of the *Epistolae familiares* by Enrico Bianchi (this translation had been announced by the publishers as forthcoming: I do not know how much work Bianchi had done on it), and the two volumes promised by Billanovich, *Libreria del Petrarca* and *Scuola del Petrarca,* which with his *Scrittorio del Petrarca* will make up the three portions of his magnum opus, *Petrarca letterato.*

There are several Petrarchan projects which, as far as I know, have

not been undertaken by any scholar, and which could presumably be carried through in this country.

1. There is need for a comprehensive work on English Petrarchism. Much has been done in this field; but earlier findings are in need of revaluation, and all relevant valid findings, old or new, should be assembled. A work comparable to Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature* might well result from such a study.

2. There is need for a new general study of the *Epistolae metricae.* Diana Magrini's *Le epistole metriche di Francesco Petrarca,* published in 1907, was far from satisfactory even then. Much work has been done in this field since that time, by Cochin (who said that if these *epistolae* had been written in Italian they would have been *une des merveilles du monde*), Foresti, and others; but much has still to be done. As a first phase of such a study, or even as a project complete in itself, there might well be prepared, for the *Epistolae metricae,* a manual, similar to my manual for the prose letters, which would enable scholars to control what has been done on the *Metricae* since 1907.

3. Many studies have been written on individual correspondents of Petrarch (for instance, the quite recent—1949, 1950, and 1952—studies of Ildebrandino Conti by Paolo Sambin, published in *Benedictina,* in the *Archivio veneto,* and in the *Miscellanea di studi e memorie* of the Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie); but there are many of his correspondents for whom no such studies exist. There is room, therefore, for further individual studies; and there is need for a biblio-biographical manual, which should record the major facts about Petrarch's correspondents, with references to the books or articles in which they have been treated—starting with the discussions by Fracassetti.

4. Now that we have Rossi's definitive critical text of the *Familiares,* some expert Latinist might well undertake a detailed study of Petrarch's Latinity on the basis of that text, noting in particular the usages in which he varies from classic practice, his medieval survivals, his likings for particular words and phrases—especially for certain rare words. The material is too vast to justify a concordance; but some sort of selective quasi-concordance might be of much value to Latinists in general and to students of humanism in particular.

5. Sooner or later there should be a complete English translation of the *Familiares*—and, later still, a complete English translation of all the other prose letters of Petrarch—but though Rossi's text is definitive, such a project would benefit so much from consultation

with Enrico Bianchi's announced Italian translation that it might well be deferred at least until further news as to the status of Bianchi's version is available.

6. Petrarch maintained constantly the superiority of Italy to all other lands. His championship was not vague, but specific. A study of the respects in which, at many points in his writings, he claimed superiority for Italy, developing what he called the "prerogatives" of Italy, would throw light not only on his general attitude and on some of his controversies, but also upon the profundity of the conviction that underlies, for instance, the great *canzone Italia mia.*[1]

7. Much of Petrarch's intellectual effort went into the writing of his hundreds of letters, and he had a very large number of correspondents in Italy and elsewhere. No public postal service, of course, was available to him. A study of the many cases in which he speaks of letters addressed to him or written by him as being lost or delayed, and of the various arrangements made for the transmission of letters, would throw light on a major phase of his activity and, incidentally, on a type of serious difficulty faced by other writers of letters for at least two centuries after Petrarch's day.

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[1] This paragraph and the next are quoted from my "Twenty Research Projects," *Italica,* XXX (1953), 130–34.

The Philosophy of Conrad Celtis, German Arch-Humanist[1]

Mortuus ille quidem sed longum vivus in aevum
Colloquitur doctis per sua scripta viris
—Epitaphium Celtis ab ipso compositum

If mental discipline and capacity for sustained thought are essential attributes of a formal philosopher, then Conrad Celtis, whom D. F. Strauss christened "the German arch-humanist," was far from being one. On the big questions Celtis' thinking was protean and inconclusive. He showed a grand indifference to the need for consistency. In a remarkable way he combined Platonic mysticism with an Aristotelian view of nature. He savagely attacked the church, its clergy, and dogma, yet performed his religious duties as though no trace of doubt marred the serenity of a simple faith. He lead an openly immoral life, if not so successfully as he boasted, and at the end turned to the comforts of a pious death. In a very real way these contradictions were not his alone, but less obviously those of his whole generation.[2]

By philosophy in the broadest sense of the word, Celtis meant all humanist knowledge. Philosophy was that learning which opened a way into the secrets of nature and of the higher life to which rhetoric and the divine poetry held the key. Those gifted with sufficient virtue and genius *(virtus ingeniumque)* could achieve true philosophic insight and the full life. In his ode to Sigismund Fusilius of Breslau on what the young philosopher ought to know he emphasized Roman

[1] This study was read in substance to the South-Central Renaissance Conference at Fayetteville, Arkansas, May 7–8, 1954. I wish to thank Dr. Myron P. Gilmore and Dr. Charles F. Mullett for a number of valuable suggestions.

[2] Not equal to Erasmus in stature, to Reuchlin in scholarship, nor to Hutten in notoriety, Celtis was nevertheless a key figure in the humanist movement. The first German poet laureate, he was the inspiration behind many literary and historical projects, a would-be reformer of university education, a playwright, poet, patriot, philosopher, and a leader of the humanist sodalities. Engelbert Klüpfel, *De Vita et Scriptis Conradi Celtis Protucii Praecipui Renascentium in Germania Literarum Restauratoris Primique Germanorum Poetae Laureati,* 2 vols. (Freiburg i. B., 1827), with its many errors remains the most comprehensive biographical study. An excellent analysis of his personality and cultural ideals deserves special mention, Friedrich von Bezold, "Konrad Celtis, der deutsche Erzhumanist," *Historische Zeitschrift,* XLIX (1883), 1–45, republished in *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Munich, 1918). Cf. also Friedrich Moth, *Conradus Celtis Protucius: Tysklands förste laurbaerkronede Digter* (Copenhagen, 1898), a Danish dissertation, and two more recent publications, Harald Drewing, *Vier Gestalten aus dem Zeitalter des Humanismus* (St. Gallen, 1946), and Leonard Forster, *Selections from Conrad Celtis, 1459–1508* (Cambridge, Eng., 1948), the first book in English on Celtis.

grammar first, then astronomy, geography, history, contempt of fortune, and moral philosophy.[3] In that broad sense of the word he looked to philosophy as the humanist program of reform, a reflection of his own Faustian drive toward all knowledge. "How beautiful it is to read great books and to enrich life with good studies!"[4]

The philosophy in the narrower sense which pervaded his literary effusions was antique-naturalistic, influenced strongly by nebulous emanations from Ficino's neoplatonism. He loved to be addressed as a "doctor of the threefold philosophy." But of the three—spiritual, moral, and natural philosophy—it was the third which intrigued him most. The study of nature could be truly rewarding only to those enlightened by a knowledge of the divine philosopher Plato. The threefold philosophy meant for him also the learning to be found in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew writings. With the exception of Wimpheling, Melanchthon, and a few others, who still spoke an earnest word in behalf of Aristotle, the German humanists from Agricola on considered themselves promoters of Plato, or more properly, of neoplatonism, according to their lights. Celtis was in the forefront, at least in sound and fury. He urged his students to the study of Plato, the Stoics, and Pythagoras; and one of them thanked him for sharing with him his "deep understanding of Plato."[5] In reality his limited knowledge of Greek kept him from consulting Plato directly, and the intervention of neoplatonism made his acquaintance with the divine philosopher even more remote. His Platonism was a poor thing.

His dilettantism in philosophy was reflected in the selection of works he chose to edit for use in the university. In the Latin version of the pseudo-Aristotelian writing, *De Mundo,* ascribed to Apuleius, which he published in 1497, he thought he had found the kernel of

[3] *Libri odarum quatuor cum Epodo et saeculari carmine* (Strasbourg, 1513), I, 13, hereafter cited as *Ode* with the book and ode number following. The modern edition of the odes is *Libri Odarum Quattuor. Liber Epodon. Carmen Saeculare* (Leipzig, 1937), ed. F. Pindter, in the series, "Bibliotheca Scriptorum medii Recentisque Aevorum, Saecula XV–XVI," ed. Ladislaus Juhasz.

[4] *Quatuor libri amorvm* (Nuremberg, 1502), I, 4, lines 17 f., lines 27 f., hereafter cited as *Am.* with the book and poem number following. The modern edition of the *Amores* is the *Quattuor Libri Amorum secundum quattuor latera Germaniae* (Leipzig, 1934), ed. F. Pindter, in the "Bibliotheca Scriptorum" series. In a letter of 1500 (*Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* [Munich, 1934], ed. Hans Rupprich, *Br.* 254, p. 431), Peter Danhauser thanks Celtis for instruction in philosophy. The *Briefwechsel* will hereafter be cited as *Br.,* with the letter number and page number following. Much of the correspondence is extant in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 3448, Epistolae et carmina sodalitatis litterariae, ab anno 1491 ad annum 1505. The verse accompanying Dürer's woodcut *Philosophia* in the *Amores* suggests this broad scope of philosophy.

[5] *Br.* 11, pp. 20 ff., lines 49 f.; *Ode* II, 12, lines 45 ff.

Platonic wisdom.[6] At least Celtis was willing to let Apuleius remain an antique author, in contrast to Sebastian Brant, who adapted Apuleius' poem on the goddess Isis to glorify the Virgin Mary.[7] His Platonism did not prevent Celtis from publishing in 1500 with his *Carmen Saeculare* twenty Aristotelian scholastic propositions selected from the fifty-one such antithetical statements in the dialogue of Nicolas Cusanus, *De non aliud* (1462). Nor does any particularly weighty reason seem to have directed his choice of Ausonius' little selections, *Ausonii Sententiae septem sapientum septenis versibus explicate* and the *Ad Drepanum de ludo septem sapientum.* Their publication with Celtis' domestic poem *Oeconomia* suggests that he may merely have wished to emphasize the practicality of the philosopher's wisdom. Whatever the reason, the philosophic works which Celtis edited do not commend either his seriousness or his consistency.

Like Virgil, Celtis felt impelled to learn the causes of things.[8] This ideal of the intellectual pursuit under Lucretian influence still inspired the imperial poets, Celtis' cultural heroes. The question of the inner essence of the universe, its principle of unity, captured his imagination as it had that of the early Greek nature philosophers. And like them he propounded theories far removed from experimental foundation. How did the *vaga semina mundi* develop from the lap of chaos? What were the hidden powers of nature? He believed he was philosophizing in all seriousness when he treated astronomical or physical questions poetically.

Celtis was obsessed with the neoplatonic conception of the universe as an organism bound by sympathetic ties. It was the highly spiritualized Renaissance view of the world exemplified by Ficino which influenced men of no mean scientific stature such as Copernicus, Bruno, and Kepler. In poetic prose Ficino described this macro-microcosm, the sympathy of the world above and that below, how the world breathed in the heavenly rays on plants, stones, and even the bodies and souls of men.

> Man is an earthly star in a cloudy covering, and the stars are heavenly people. . . . To the song of the joyous heavenly spirits, as the Pythagoreans believe, the spheres lead the dances. . . . When the stars laugh, everything in heaven and

[6] Albrecht von Eyb had included excerpts from Apuleius in his extremely popular source book of the classics, *Margarita Poetica,* which appeared in fifteen or more editions between 1472 and 1503. Cf. Max Hermann, *Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus* (Berlin, 1893), 190, 214.

[7] Charles Schmidt, *Histoire Littéraire de L'Alsace à la Fin du XV^e^ et au commencement du XVI^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1879), I, 258 f.

[8] "Rerum cognoscere causas"; *Ode* I, 27, line 78, etc.

earth laughs. . . . Light is the laughter of heaven and expresses the joy of the heavenly spirits. . . . Truly from the laughing stars as from the eyes of divine minds friendly and happy rays travel, influencing the seeds of all living things.[9]

He was entirely taken by this view of nature.

Everything in the world has its own special ray, since all the stars of the heaven move under the earth. But the human spirit excels every living thing through its rays, for its own seeds rise from related stars and it is said to stand near to the aetherial gods.[10]

He thought such phenomena as the tides might be due to the regular breathing of the world as a living organism.[11] Many problems of nature could never be answered with certainty. "Who can give sure account of the causes of all natural appearances? Weak is our conjecture, shaky and uncertain our combination."[12] Celtis was only a poet. Perhaps this uncertainty prompted him to seek assurance in the stars.

This atmosphere of neoplatonic nature-mysticism was most conducive to astrological belief. The fifth-century grammarian Macrobius helped convince Celtis that man's fate was controlled by the seven stars.[13] The stars through the mixture of their rays determine the characteristics of things, binding and loosening body and soul. The spirit bound to its "spheres" from which the life-power and heartbeats proceed is like the mechanism of a clock revolving and striking each hour on time.[14] One of the purposes of his *Amores,* Celtis observed in the preface, was to show the influence of the stars on human life. All bodies are changed by the highest sidereal causes.[15] In an ode to his Cracow astronomy professor, Albert Brudzewo, Celtis de-

[9] Marsilius Ficinus, *Opera* (Basel, 1576), I, 659, "Epistolarum Liber I"; I, 978, "Liber de Ivmine." Cf. also I, 529, "Liber de uita cœlitus comparanda," and many other treatises for this theory. Cf. F. Bezold, *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance,* 129.

[10] "De radiis praesensionariis, quos philosophi stellicos vocant, et quam potentes humani affectus sint"; *Am.* I, 11., lines 49 ff. "Quid graves mentis mihi fers labores, / Musa, tam caecas repetendo causas? / Fine quo tandem fluidi fatiscant / Semina mundi, / Fine quo tandem radiosa caeli / Astra decurrant varios, agentes / Circulis orbes, etc."; *Ode I,* 29, lines 1 ff. Cf. also the *Proseuticum ad diuum Fridericum tercium pro laurea Appollinari* (Nuremberg, 1487).

[11] "Sive ingens animal, totum quod dicimus orbem, / Spiramenta suis faucibus illa vomit"; *Am.* IV, 14, lines 29 f.

[12] *Norimberga,* Chap. 6, published with *Quatuor libri amorvm* (1502) and in a modern edition by Albert Werminghoff, *Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg* (Freiburg i. B., 1921).

[13] Karl Hartfelder, ed., *Fünf Bücher Epigramme von Konrad Celtes* (Berlin, 1881), II, 35, hereafter cited as *Ep.,* with the book and epigram number following.

[14] *Ode* II, 11, lines 45 ff. The planets were "the seven rulers of mankind" (De horis et diebus planetariis); *Ep.* III, 70–76. Cf. *Ep.* IV, 78; *Ep.* IV, 66.

[15] "De operatione siderum"; *Ep.* II, 34.

clared that the stars determine the fates and by astrology the poet-prophets *(vates)* foretell the future.[16] His whole life was lived under the spell of this sidereal delusion. Unlike Ficino, who in his *De vita triplici,* that "dietetic of the Saturnine man," warned against the bitterness of melancholy, or Dürer, who included the idea in his woodcut of *Philosophia* in the *Amores,* Celtis was not given to brooding over the melancholy influence of Saturn. He was far too sanguine, or rather choleric, for that.[17]

All this makes his occasional attacks against the astrologers quite unimpressive. It is their ignorance, their errors, their greed rather than their basic premises which he criticizes. Only once does he make a fundamental protest urging the astrologers to cease their labors, for Jove rules in the sky.[18] The combination of mild protest against grotesque aspects of astrology and a basic belief in it was common among the humanists. Pico was quite exceptional with his *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem.* Ficino himself, in spite of his own polemic against the errors of this dangerous science, allowed a broad range of influence to the stars. Astrology was much at home in the North among peasants, shepherds, businessmen, chancellors, and even church dignitaries. Aquinas had called astrology the devil's work but had nevertheless allowed the stars an influence on body-build, differences of sex, and personal characteristics. Dante, too, limited its influence without denying it altogether.

It would perhaps be expecting too much, when popes and cardinals indulged their superstitions, to look for a clean break from the humanists sodden with the lore of late antiquity. Thomas Murner in his youthful work *Invectiva contra astrologos* had called astrology a madness which subverted the free will of man. Nevertheless, he believed that the signs of the heavens had much to teach about sickness, storms, and the like. In his *De verbo mirifico* Reuchlin cursed the ideas of the superstitious astrologers who erred from mathematics and astronomy. But he, too, consulted horoscopes. Similarly Trithemius in his *Epistolae ad familiares* repulsed the errors of the crowd and the great deceptions of the astrologers. But it was this same Trithemius whose phantastic idea of basing a philosophy of history on an angel-

[16] *Ode* I, 17, line 43.

[17] One of the few references to Saturn is little more than an aside, *Ep.* III, 7: Ad Saturnum. Cf. Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1948), I, 157. On the connection between medieval platonism, the ideas of sympathetic bonds and the light metaphysic, and astrology, cf. Clemens Baeumker, "Mittelalterlicher und Renaissance-Platonismus," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und Reformation* (Munich, 1917), 5 ff.

[18] "Ad astrologos," *Ep.* IV, 64. Cf. "De mendaciis astrologorum," *Ep.* I, 59; "De imperito astrologo," *Ep.* I, 60; "De cane, gallo et culina: astrologis," *Ep.* IV, 7.

planetary myth marked the high point in the triumphal procession of astrology in this century which saw its greatest successes. It is interesting to recall in contrast how a late scholastic, Heinrich von Langenstein, after a studied argument, concluded in his *Tractatus physicus de habitudine causarum et influxu nature communis respectu inferiorum* (1407) that secondary causes have only limited influence on the lower world, for only God works through intelligence and will and therefore astrology contradicts philosophy and truth. Humanist astrology renewed from sources in late antiquity was clearly a regrettable case of cultural atavism. How could a man of Celtis' philosophic stature rise above it? Instead, he found in it a new opportunity to indulge his poetic penchant for phantasy.

Similarly Pythagorean number-mysticism held for him the same fascination as for Pico, Reuchlin, or Trithemius, though he became less involved in it than they. Somewhat more elevating was his attitude toward witchcraft and magic. He does, to be sure, play with the idea of magic in his poetry, but he has nothing but scorn for its practitioners.[19] Fortunetellers trifle with God's secrets. Alchemists are greedy. Palm readers might as well read the feet, for they know nothing of astrology or of the natal day. Whatever his reasoning, at least Celtis, unlike Trithemius, Bebel, and other humanists, was not guilty of adding fuel to the pyre on which many poor wretches were to burn.

The natural philosopher probing deep and secret causes had inevitably to confront the problem of free will and determinism. Fate or Fortuna played a role in Germany during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries similar to that which it played in Italy. That role was problematical, and few thinkers in the South or North thought it through with the vigor of Machiavelli. The problem demanded much attention in the high Middle Ages with the introduction of such terms as Moira, Fatum, Tyche-Fortuna. It proved no less difficult conceptually for the poor philosophers of the Renaissance. Already in Dante Fortuna appeared in a double aspect, as purely a goddess of luck favoring all alike and as an incomprehensible fate, defying all human calculation. Petrarch touched on the problem only occasionally and then spoke in contradictory terms. The German humanists wrestled with the problem in terms of inexorable fate, human virtue, and divine Providence. Most of them never got much beyond identifying fate with the changeableness and transiency of all things, the incalculableness of the powers presiding over life.

[19] "De exclusione; necromanticas et magicas artes commemorat"; *Am.* I, 14. Cf. *Am.* IV, 10, lines 28 ff.

Nor did Celtis arrive at a satisfying solution of the three factors at play. In an ode on fate and felicity he describes the working of impenetrable fortune. He alone who sits on Olympus mixing joys with sorrows knows and governs the causes in our lives, gives and denies—actions which our hearts are unable to see through the dark shadows. He has actually established proud fate to give his certain gifts in all things, which come at the appointed time, even though the windows have been firmly closed. The politician in the king's court is suddenly ruined, the poet rises unexpectedly to great fame, the prosperous merchant perishes with his ship bound for the Indies. One married man is left childless; another has too many sons. One man choosing private life is destined to rule; another preferring the ancestral home dies an exile on a foreign shore. One dies by the sword, another is burned alive, a third hangs on a cross, a fourth is twisted on a wheel. Thus drunken fortune plays with wandering step, oppressing the mind with care, joyous hope, or fear. The wise man must daringly persist with a vigor of mind equal to it.[20] This was Celtis' most usual counsel. To young Fusilius he wrote: "Learn to spurn the favor of unstable fortune and to bear hardships, and you will live out your days in happiness."[21]

In a similar vein he wrote: "A blind goddess spins an uncertain game and governs the wheel with a dubious countenance, which a wise man supported with his own vigor spurns and despises."[22] Like a trivial and quite undramatic Hamlet, Celtis stood before the two-faced goddess and debated between suffering her slings and arrows or taking arms against them. The activist in him usually won out.[23] The virtue which he verbally opposed to fortune was often more the pious life which promises bliss than the *virtù* of the author of *The Prince.* Fate was, after all, in God's hands—a thought which should give man peace of mind.[24] The counsel of the gods must not be inquired into. Apollo and poetry raise man above concern for the fates.[25] In an epigram to Jove the all-highest, Celtis beseeches the ruler of destiny to reveal the laws by which he governs, lest oppressed men believe that all things are directed by capricious steps and stand under no rule. Otherwise destiny will remain forever blind in a way opposed to virtue and limited by no law. All this was far too much for Celtis.

[20] "Ad Andream Pegasum de fato et felicitate"; *Ode* I, 5.
[21] *Ode* I, 11, lines 69 ff. [22] *Ode* II, 22, lines 45 ff.
[23] "In Fortunae vultum ex sententia philosophorum"; *Ep.* IV, 16. In *Ode* III, 1, lines 77 f., virtue opposes fortune; in *Epod* 9, lines 23 f., fortune through various perils makes a way to virtue. The *Liber Epodon* was published with the *Odes.*
[24] *Ode* II, 2, lines 77 ff. [25] *Ode* II, 14.

"Whatever the truth is, may we seize the joys of a doubtful life, since it will return to nothing, for it once was nothing."[26]

In view of his uncertainties and the poverty of his positive philosophy, the self-assurance with which Celtis attacked the scholastic philosophers might seem surprising. The answer is that Celtis did not oppose scholasticism on a philosophic basis, for he did not know it at the higher levels. Although he had studied at both Cologne and Heidelberg and had thus been introduced to both the *viae,* he failed to distinguish between Thomism and Occamism or show any further signs of interest in the intellectual questions at stake. He opposed scholasticism rather because of its different cultural ideal. The scholastics filled all the universities throughout Germany and devoted fifteen years to the study of logic alone. None knew what the divine books of Plato had to say or what was in the works of Pliny or of Cicero.[27] Luther also complained that no one had instructed him in the poets and historians, but only in the philosophers. His complaint was only incidental, however, to a more serious religious difference. For Celtis the great wrong of the scholastics was the neglect of the Roman tongue and of natural philosophy and their opposition to the poets who promoted both with enthusiasm.

> Those who interpret the Latin poets and writers are suppressed and those who try to solve the riddles of nature and the wisdom of its governor by means of mathematical truth, who in any way go beyond the views of the circle of common men, are held up as infamous. So pitiable is the philosophy of these men, flat and watered down, that by their methods they deform the beauties of nature with incorporeal concepts, monstrous abstractions and vain chimeras.[28]

It was to the interests and method of the scholastics that Celtis objected, not to their premises and conclusions. It was for this reason that he could teach on university faculties that were predominantly scholastic with only occasional frictions and unpleasantries. In fact, he was sufficiently tolerant about the issues at stake to plan a work which would effect harmony between the poets and theologians, the *Parnassus biceps,* a book which was either subsequently lost—or

[26] "Ad Jovem optimum maximum"; *Ep.* I, 6.

[27] *Am.* III, 10, lines 49 ff.

[28] *Oratio inauguralis,* sentence 79, published with the *Panegyris ad Duces Bauarie* (Augsburg, 1492), as well as in a modern edition by Hans Rupprich, *Conradus Celtis Protucius Oratio* (Leipzig, 1932), in the "Bibliotheca Scriptorum" series. The *Oratio* is included with the text and translation in L. Forster, *op. cit.,* 36 ff. In *Br.* 32, p. 56, lines 11 f., Celtis complains of the bad Latin of the clamoring scholastics. Gregor Nitsch, a humanist canon at the cathedral of Olmütz, observes that poets and theologians have been at odds also in preceding centuries (*Br.* 251, p. 424, lines 39 ff.).

never begun.[29] It was a thought at home among the Heidelberg humanists. A similar attempt at pacification doubtless prompted Celtis to publish in 1500 St. Jerome's *Epistola ad Magnum, oratorem Urbis, de legendis et audiendis poetis.* Celtis through his pupil Locher may have influenced Thomas Murner's *Reformatio Poetarum.* Locher himself drew the fire of the conservative Wimpheling who wrote a pamphlet aimed at him and the radical poets, *Contra turpem libellum Philomusi Defensio theologie scholastice et neotericorum.* The classic controversy, at least in emotional energy expended on the relationship of poetry and theology, remained that of Martin Polich and Wimpina.

Celtis reveled in the offensive and took the greatest delight in criticizing the clergy. His attacks, as typical of popular satirical literature of the time as of specifically humanist writings, were direct and usually without humor. Like the fiery Hutten, thirty years his junior, Celtis gave expression to an anticlericalism prompted by a patriotic motivation. It was both moral indignation against laxity and abuse, though it came with ill grace from an open lecher like Celtis, and opposition to the exploitation of his Germans by clerics and the curia, which stirred his anger. He himself, like Hutten who published a new edition of it, had a copy of Lorenzo Valla's *De Donatione Constantini* and so had reason to doubt the foundation of papal power.[30]

Celtis struck even nearer to the heart of the sacramental-sacerdotal system with his jibes at transubstantiation. A priest preferred a fat capon to salted herring during a fast. He therefore invoked his power of changing bread to body and, making the sign of the cross, he effected the desired transformation.[31] Fasts and prayers were for the hooded monks, not for the humanist comrades. God sees nothing in a fast. What good did the Latin chattering of prayers do, if no one understood what the monk prayed for?[32] The priests anxiously try to suppress the possession of religious books by the people, but in the future not only clerics, but all the people shall have a knowledge of divine wisdom. Everyone can now read the Holy Scriptures spread by printing: "Now there are so many printed books in Germany that

[29] *Vita, Br.* 339, pp. 609 ff., lines 132 f., Scripsit Parnasum bicipitem, in quo poetas et theologos concordat (*Br.* 110, pp. 184 ff.), may be a reference to this work.

[30] *Br.* 79, pp. 131 f.; lines 26 f.; "Ad Germanos," *Ep.* II, 2. In *Ep.* V, 5, Celtis repeats the fiction of the papess Joan. In *Br.* 313, p. 566, Augustinus Moravus asks the suppression of his anecdotes on the pope.

[31] *Ep.* IV, 17.

[32] *Ode* III, 15, lines 29 ff.; *Ep.* IV, 23; *Am.* III, 9, lines 47 ff.

every inn has a copy of the Holy Scriptures."[33] Such expressions show clearly that Celtis opposed abuse as a patriot and regretted the externalization of doctrine. But they show also that he did not feel bound by the inner dogma of the church.

A universalist element in his spiritual philosophy is evident in his praise of the old philosophers and poets who achieved such harmony in the light of nature and of grace. He consistently used classic names for God and the saints and classic myths and phrases for Christian references. God the Father was Jupiter and Mary, the mother of the Thunderer.[34] Mercury was the guide to the world beyond. Heaven was the Elysian fields; hell, the nether world of the Furies guarded by Cerberus and ruled by the judge Radamanthus.[35] The *Germania generalis* breathes an entirely heathen atmosphere, describing the creation of the world according to the myth of the Demogorgon, the ancestor of the gods in whose lap rests chaos from which the world arose. Celtis doubtless learned this distortion of the demiurge stemming from late classic paganism from Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium,* in which pagan myths are given a neologistic interpretation designed to give them a new allegorical meaning. Of course, the Carolingian poets had used the appellation the "Thunderer" as an acceptable literary flourish, forgetting, it seems, the admonition of Gregory the Great that the praise of Christ should not be joined with the praise of Jupiter. And an Italian poet as pious as Baptista Mantuanus had summoned the whole of Olympus to praise the Madonna. Since Christianity had conquered, they argued, one could use pagan names without harm. But it was this open and consistent practice which stirred the suspicions of Celtis' colleagues. It prompted the rebuke of the nun Charitas Pirckheimer, who called upon Celtis to abandon the artful fables of Diana, Venus, Jupiter, and other idols. She was right, of course. A mind preoccupied with antique literature and philosophy would inevitably be conditioned also by antique religious thought. This was true of Celtis to a greater extent perhaps than he himself knew. It is evident particularly in his ideas of God, of immortality, and of justification by civil virtue.

Is there a God? If so, what is his nature? These are radical questions for one standing within the received tradition. The closing of the *Carmen Saeculare,* a poem hailing the advent of the new century, is indicative of his mood.

[33] *Am.* III, 9.
[34] *Br.* 2, p. 4, line 43; *Ep.* I, 6; *Ep.* I, 19, etc.
[35] *Ode* IV, 9; *Br.* 3, p. 7, lines 26 ff.; *Am.* IV, 3, lines 60 ff.; *Ep.* V, 40.

Thou in whom the wandering stars of the heavens rest and all which is upon the earth, lend a favorable ear to our petitions. Thy name and Thy power we are not able to recognize. Whoever Thou art, be kind to Germany in whose cities many altars pour up smoke to Thee.

God's name and essence were unknowable. He was an abscondite God, who was not to be found in churches. And yet he was a God present everywhere in nature and within man. Celtis' most radical ode expresses his views clearly:

To Sepulus the Superstitious

You marvel that I never move my lips in any church
Murmuring through my teeth in prayer.
The reason is that the great divine Will of Heaven
Hears the small inner voice.
You marvel that you so seldom see me
Dragging my feet into the temples of the gods.
God is within us. I do not need to meditate on Him
In painted churches.
You marvel that I love to seek the open waters
And the warm sun.
It is there that the mighty image of omnipotent Jupiter appears to me.
There are the highest temples of God.
The woods are pleasing to the Muses, a city is hateful to poets
And so is the evil of milling crowds.
Go now and deride my gods with your foolish words,
My blustering Sepulus![36]

Here, surely, is a clear expression of that humanist universal theism which, if popularized, might have posed a serious threat to the sacramental-sacerdotal system of the medieval church. In another flippant ode addressed to Crispus, the buffoon of the poets, Celtis contrasted the beauties of worship in nature with the noisy shouting of the dullard priest preaching to a crowd of stupid people.[37]

It was especially in nature that Celtis sought for God. "Does God concern himself with the world, at work within its mass," he asked, "or has He withdrawn from his work, so that all depends on chance and fate and God comes staggering after with an uncertain step?"[38] His search for the divine was generally associated with an inquiry into natural causation.

I would behold the flaming fire of heaven, of the sea, and of the earth, and I would learn to know the causes of the wind, the fog, and the snow! I would

[36] *Ode* I, 16. [37] *Ode* I, 19. [38] *Am.* IV, 4, lines 89 ff.

find Thee, Father of all things, through whom the immeasurable world has been established and whose nod would send it reeling off into chaos again! Omnipresent the Spirit sweeps through the world, enlivening every single part, whom only pure minds are able to see and apprehend.[39]

In the dedication of the *Amores* Celtis celebrates Love, the neoplatonic *Eros,* as the cosmic principle, the love of the Creator for the creature, the love which the philosophers depict as active in fire, water, steam, and air in originating the world.

We, however, name Him the highest God who made man from a lump of earth and slime and implanted in him as in all living beings, plants and seeds, yes in inanimate things as stones and colors, the power and characteristics of love, so that they as a result of a natural relationship and a silent inner agreement seek and desire to join each other.

This was not far from Lucretius' ode to Venus as the creatrix of all things.

This orientation explains in part Celtis' enthusiasm for the religion of the early Germans. In the *Vita* appended to the 1513 Strasbourg edition of the *Odes* his friends called him a lover of the sun, woods, and mountains. How excellent was the religion of the forefathers who worshiped in protective groves of oak trees in the dark forest without concrete objects as in the image-loving South, devoted to the secret powers of nature, understanding the secret of departing and renewed life. In those days there were no priests, and Germany was not yet subjected to foreign gods. No one served the Italians or acknowledged the saints who so often plunder German lands.

The conception of God in nature and within man reflected in these passages is typical of the views of Florentine neoplatonism. In his *De vita coelitus comparanda,* Ficino urged people to remain in the free heaven, in high and pleasant places where the rays of the stars might work on man unhindered. Light, sunlight, and wine were necessary, especially for the sunny nature of literary folk. The idea of the macro-microcosm was basic in the religious thought of the Florentine neoplatonists. God is within us. We are little gods. But for his idea of Eros as the divine principle of unity, Celtis expressly acknowledges Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the source of his inspiration. Ovid, too, wrote of the "god within us."[40] There was less of the true seeker in Celtis, less of the mystical desire and thirst of the soul for the communion with the divine than in Ficino. He was less a religious

[39] *Ode* I, 5, lines 137 ff.
[40] *Br.* 275, pp. 494 ff., lines 121 ff. *Br.* 101, pp. 165 ff., line 22.

man than Ficino. He was not concerned with apologetic responsibilities and not encumbered with a knowledge of scholastic theology to be used in a new synthesis. He was rather the bold and unreflecting poet who dares to seek God where he would. He was so little the god-seeker even in the aestheticized Florentine ascetic sense.

Celtis' radical estrangement from orthodox otherworldliness led him to question the destiny and even the existence of the soul after death. He thought that for sentient shades the punishments of hell, the hot regions of Pluto, or a severe cold were the inventions of the slothful priests with which they rule the blind hearts of the masses. One should despise their murmurings.[41] Yet he was not without the fear of a divine judgment. "Despiser of the gods, beware lest Fortune with wandering feet assault you. For no mortal can long safely prevail as a despiser of the gods."[42] Anxious cares arose lest perchance the gods do care for the pious vows of good men and condemn wicked men.[43] Though piety demands proper burial rather than cremation, would the soul itself return to nothing from which it came?[44] One type of immortality alone was assured—the immortal fame of the poet. Desire for fame, called by Dante "lo gran disio dell'eccellenza" and by Boccaccio "perpetuandi nominis desiderium," was for Celtis a great driving power. Fame would rescue him from the abyss of nothingness and assure for him a life beyond death.

Only the life of virtue gives man security, the promise of a celestial seat, and removes fear of Styx.[45] Honesty and virtue alone promises immortality in the world, together with the learned songs which posterity approves.[46] The man who is fortified by virtue is worthy of the love of the gods and the scepter of Jove. And when he has left this transient earth, he will be included in the company of the divine heroes.[47] The sacred writings teach that the Lord will place man's soul in heaven, if by imitating His sacred laws he bravely spurns the perishable joys of the false world.[48] Such admonitions of Celtis have all the makings of a morality religion, but Celtis could not bear the strain of moralizing. In an ode to Sebaldus praising the active life, proposing educational reform, urging the care of the temple and of its images, and lauding the gift of a good conscience, he concludes,

[41] *Am.* III, 12, lines 53–62; *Ode* III, 15.
[42] *Ode* IV, 6, lines 15–18; *Am.* IV, 3, lines 60 ff.; *Am.* IV, 4, lines 57 ff.
[43] *Ep.* II, 38; *Ep.* I, 6; *Ode* I, 29, lines 13 ff.
[44] *Ode* III, 6, lines 57 ff.; *Ode* IV, 2, lines 3 ff., 41 ff.; *Epod* 7, lines 31 ff.; *Ep.* V, 60; *Ars versificandi et carminum* (Leipzig, 1487), "Ad lectorem."
[45] *Ode* I, 11, lines 73 ff. *Ode* I, 23, lines 39 f.
[46] *Am.* IV, 15, lines 39 f.
[47] *Ode* III, 1, lines 85 ff.
[48] *Ode* II, 22, lines 33 ff.

"but refrain, Clio, from describing the fate of wicked men with a more severe song; restore Bacchus, who is accustomed to play to more gentle muses!" Again and again he admonishes the comrades to banish cares with sleep, sadness with wine, and to seize the joys of a short life which flees like a shadow.[49] His nearest approach to a serious ethic was a rather playful comparison of the gladiator's combat with moral philosophy.[50] He is satisfied with commending the ancients and the quiet of the wise as the highest goal. What he has to say about the independence of man from external influences, of virtue and self-control, is typically humanist. Coming from him it is less than convincing.

The radical departure in his natural and spiritual philosophy and the effeteness of his moral philosophy did not prevent Celtis from paying his formal respects to traditional Christianity and the church. He spoke with concern of the fortunes of "our religion," boasted of the seven powerful archbishoprics of the Fatherland, and contributed kindly epitaphs for monks and abbots.[51] Jodokus Sturnus urged him to put his talents into the service of the church.[52] Indeed, he placed credulity in medieval religious practices that were soon to be swept away by the Reformation.

Like Agricola and almost all the other German humanists, Celtis composed poems to the saints, to Catharine, Anne, Martin, Sebaldus, and Leopold, patron saint of Austria.[53] He gave his greatest attention, not to say highest devotion, to the Virgin Mary, whose icon he placed at his door. It was to Mary that he turned in his severe illness.[54] With the upper Rhenish humanists he entered the lists against the Dominicans in favor of the doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary. He vacillated between criticism and credulity about miracles. He rationalized the remarkable survival of Father Nicolaus, who lived for years without food. But he accepted the sweating breastbones of the holy Walpurgis without any critical comment.[55] Weak and

[49] *Ode* II, 23, lines 97 ff. *Ode* I, 20; *Am.* I, 6, line 50; *Ep.* I, 6, etc.

[50] *Epod* 13.

[51] *Br.* 5, p. 10, 77; *Br.* 306, pp. 552 ff., lines 13 f.; *Epod* 14; *Br.* 305, pp. 549 ff.; *Br.* 210, pp. 348 ff.

[52] *Br.* 312, pp. 564 ff.

[53] *Ep.* I, 20, 21; *Ep.* III, 24; *Ep.* V, 19; *Br.* 325, p. 581, lines 2 ff. Clm codex 782: Ad divinam Catherinam; Ad divam Virginem.

[54] *Ep.* I, 19; *Ep.* II, 37; *Ep.* III, 1; *Ep.* V, 14; *Ode* II, 8. Clm codex 6007 or Ebersberg 2071, p. 112; "Chunradus Celtes, laureatus poeta sic dicit de beata Maria virgine in carmine suo saphico," in Franz Leitschuh, *Studien und Quellen zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des XV.–XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Fribourg, 1912), 145. *Ars versificandi,* 46.

[55] *Am.* III, 13, lines 7 ff. "De tumba divae Valpurgis in Aichstodio . . ."; *Ode* II, 30.

feverish with disease, he sought and found at least temporary relief by pilgrimages to the shrine of the Virgin on the Danube. He traveled to the shrine of Alt-Oetting in Bavaria, still visited by thousands of pilgrims each year.[56]

Celtis died of the French disease on February 4, 1508, piously and in a most Christian manner, his friend Thomas Resch assures us. He was carried in a grand procession with the entire company of Vienna University professors and students in attendance to St. Stephen's cathedral. The son of a peasant, he lies buried not far from the tomb of Emperor Frederick III, who had crowned him the first poet laureate of Germany.[57] Thus died a man of eloquence and a philosopher in the arms of the church.

Was Celtis a free, enlightened thinker, a champion of reason and individual liberty breaking the bondage of ecclesiastical authority and medieval superstition? To answer the question as did the nineteenth-century liberal historians reveals an essentially unhistorical way of thinking. A direct affirmation is too *simpliste.* What constitutes intellectual revolt varies, of course, with historical epochs. There is a difference not only of degree, but of kind. In many ways with his Platonic idealism, Celtis was more of a believer than his rationalistic scholastic contemporary, though less in an established pattern. The humanists had a pattern and a conformity of their own. He was clearly not the militant man of reason questioning the supernatural. It was less that he despised the saints than that he raised the heroes of classical literature to their level. Nor, it may be noted in this connection, is it either historical or just to blame Celtis and his fellows with arriving merely at a "series of half-solutions." The ambivalence in many of his attitudes toward the big questions was not hypocrisy. It was an honest reflection of his confusion about matters for which he had no final criterion for judgment and scarcely the vocabulary for articulation. Celtis merely posed a "perhaps." For his time, indeed,

[56] "In aede divae genitricis . . ."; *Ep.* V, 4; *Ep.* IV, 36, 37. In December, 1502, Celtis visited Alt-Oetting, where he was met by Aventine, and taken to the latter's home in Abensberg on December 7; Johannes Turmair (Aventinus), *Sämmtliche Werke* (Munich, 1881–1908), IV, 8.

[57] *Br.* 352, pp. 632 f. For a description of the tombstone, cf. Moriz Thausing, "Die Celtes-Ciste der Wiener Universität," *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien,* XVII (1877), 255 f. It is pictured in Otto Rommel, ed., *Wiener Renaissance* (Vienna, 1947), 208. On the reaction of the humanists to his death, see *Br.* 340, pp. 614 ff;. *Br.* 343–57, pp. 619–38. Friedrich von Bezold, "Aus dem Freundeskreise des Konrad Celtis," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit,* N. F. XXIX (1882), no. 4, cols. 93 ff., cites the Benedictine Chelidonius' ode, "Elegia F. Benedicti Chelidonii Norici de fato Conradi Celtis Protucii poete laureati," Münchener Staatsbibliothek, H. Eccl. 760, 4°, a handwritten copy by Hartmann Schedel.

he was a free spirit. That freedom was far from the skepticism, liberalism, and rationalism which Strauss and the Burckhardtians enthusiastically acclaimed.

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The Concept of Nationalism in Machiavelli's *Prince*[1]

Of all the writings of Machiavelli, none has been so much commented upon as *The Prince,* and of the various sections of *The Prince,* none has been discussed so much as the last chapter. The chapter is an "exhortation to liberate Italy from the Barbarians." Machiavelli believes that the opportunity has come "to introduce a new system" in Italy. A new Prince should place himself at the head of the Italians, who are "ready and willing to follow any standard, if only there be someone to raise it."[2]

> What doors would be closed against him? What people would refuse him obedience? What envy could oppose him? What Italian would withhold allegiance? This barbarous domination stinks in the nostrils of every one.

Machiavelli feels sure that the Barbarians could not withstand the impact of the Italian forces united under a new Prince. "This opportunity must not, therefore, be allowed to pass, so that Italy may at length find her liberator."

There are two reasons for the great attention which this chapter has aroused. The dramatic appeal to nationalism seems most strange in a stage of political development where nationalism, if it plays any role at all, has certainly not an important part. And it is particularly astonishing to find this reliance on popular enthusiasm in Machiavelli; there is a striking difference between the emotional idealism which pervades the national appeal of the last chapter of *The Prince* and the cold and realistic analysis of political forces which forms the distinguishing feature of the rest of the work.

Although the full extent of the problem involved in Machiavelli's appeal to nationalism has been appreciated only in more recent studies, the difference between the last chapter and the rest of the book has been noticed ever since critical scholarship began to occupy itself with the work. Ranke, in his first historical work, was struck by this contrast and wrote: "Let us be just! He sought the salvation of Italy, but her situation seemed to him so desperate that he was bold enough to prescribe poison."[3] Thus Ranke saw in Machiavelli pri-

[1] This paper was read at a session on "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Renaissance" at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Chicago in December, 1953.

[2] I use the translation in the Modern Library edition.

[3] L. Ranke, *Zur Kritik Neuerer Geschichtschreiber* (Leipzig, 1824), 202.

marily an Italian patriot, and his sentences set the tone for the discussion of the problem throughout the nineteenth century. Machiavelli's realism seemed justified as it aimed at the fulfillment of national aspirations; Machiavelli was seen as the prophet of the modern national state.[4] This conception of Machiavelli could seem plausible to the historians of the nineteenth century because they were inclined to see history, especially from the Renaissance on, as developing in a straight line toward the modern world.

However, Ranke's explanation of Machiavelli's emphasis on nationalism appeared questionable to the historians of the twentieth century, whose concepts of history have taken on a more relativistic tinge and who are more skeptical about considering the past mainly as the seedbed of the present. It was observed that Machiavelli's ideas regarding the union of Italy in the last chapter of *The Prince* remained vague. It is not clear whether he envisaged a transitory military alliance, a permanent federal constitution, or a unified national state. It was also noticed that on other occasions he expressed much less confidence in the enthusiasm of the Italians to fight for the freedom of their country. Thus the question was asked whether the Italian nationalism advocated in the last chapter of *The Prince* could really be regarded as a central issue in Machiavelli's political thought or whether this chapter ought not to be considered as a purely rhetorical ending, a humanist peroration. This was the problem which Meinecke raised thirty years ago in his edition of *The Prince*.[5]

In order to determine the significance of the last chapter within the work as a whole, Meinecke embarked on an investigation of the process of its composition. He attempted to show that *The Prince* was not the result of a single brilliant inspiration, but that different layers could be distinguished, indicating that the work was composed in sections. Meinecke's thesis was vehemently disputed by Federico Chabod,[6] who insisted that *The Prince* was written by Machiavelli during 1513, in a very brief span of time; he concluded, therefore, that the work must have originated out of a unified conception. This was the beginning of a controversy between "divisionists" and "unifiers." Chabod and his adherents directed attention to the manner in which fundamental concepts of the last chapter—like the motif of

[4] See, for instance, Pasquale Villari's famous biography, *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli,* tr. Linda Villari, 2 vols. (2d ed.; London, 1891).

[5] Machiavelli, *Der Fuerst,* ed. F. Meinecke, "Klassiker der Politik," VIII (Berlin, 1923), 33–37.

[6] "Sulla Composizione de 'Il Principe' di Niccolò Machiavelli," *Archivum Romanicum,* XI (1927), 330–87.

the state founders—have been foreshadowed in previous sections of *The Prince,* so that the appeal to nationalism really forms the conscious climax of the work, while advocates of the opposite point of view can refer to the discovery of literary models of the work or point to investigations of the language showing the particularly Petrarchesque style of the last chapter.[7]

As much as the adherents of the two differing points of view may feel sure of the correctness of their interpretation of the composition of *The Prince,* it seems to those less directly involved that agreement about the significance of the last chapter of *The Prince* has not been reached, that the decisive point has not yet been made.[8]

The controversy certainly has not been fruitless, however, for it has had the unquestionable merit of increasing and refining our understanding of the character of the work. On the other hand, the dispute has had the somewhat unfortunate consequence that the problem of the role of nationalism in Machiavelli's thought has become entirely dependent on the problem of the composition of *The Prince* and has been absorbed by it. Actually, however, the question of whether the ideas of this chapter form an integral part of Machiavelli's thinking or are a purely rhetorical peroration is not exclusively dependent on whether the last chapter was a later addition or not. It would seem to be equally significant whether the ideas contained in this chapter are conventional or whether they express new and original thoughts, thereby indicating a serious concern with the problem of nationalism on Machiavelli's part. The intention of this paper is to direct attention to the possibilities of an approach which places the nationalistic appeal of the last chapter of *The Prince* in relation to other expressions of nationalism in this period, and to make some tentative explorations along this line.

Federico Chabod has called this chapter a unique page in the literature of the Italian Renaissance.[9] This statement clearly needs elucidation and interpretation, for it must be clear to every student of the Italian Renaissance that this uniqueness does not include the

[7] See F. Gilbert, "The Humanist Concept of the Prince and *The Prince* of Machiavelli," *The Journal of Modern History,* XI (1939), 449–83, and Fredi Chiappelli, *Studi sul linguaggio del Machiavelli,* (Florence, 1952), 18; see also the discussion of recent Machiavelli literature by Wolfgang Preiser, "Das Machiavelli-Bild der Gegenwart," *Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft,* CVIII (1952), particularly p. 19.

[8] See, for instance, Myron P. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism* 1453–1517 (New York, 1952), 135.

[9] "Gli Studi di Storia del Rinascimento," *Cinquant'Anni di Cita Intellettuale Italiana* (Naples, 1950), *s.p.*

entire complex of ideas contained in the last chapter of *The Prince,* but only certain of its aspects.

There is certainly nothing new in the fundamental presupposition —in the idea of Italy as a unit distinguished from the surrounding world, in the demand for the expulsion of the foreigners. Machiavelli himself concludes the chapter with a quotation from Petrarch's *Italia Mia* which had already expressed these ideas; and in the fourteenth century the sentiment of Petrarch's *Canzone* had been re-echoed in the works of other poets, by Fazio Degli Uberti, Francesco di Vanozzo, and the poets of the Visconti court.[10] It was natural to fall back on this tradition when a situation similar to that from which Petrarch's song originated had arisen.

In the fifteenth century—in the period of relaxation of outside pressure and of a relative autonomy of Italian political life—the praise of the individual city or state which the humanists served, the defense of its eminence over all others, became favorite themes of humanist political writings. But even in this narrower framework, the humanists did not lose sight of the larger unity within which the single state existed. Salutati praised Florence because in defending her own freedom she had "saved liberty in Italy."[11] The intellectual primacy which humanism had given to Italy even intensified the feeling of the separateness of Italy from the rest of Europe. It is a recurrent theme in humanist literature that Italy has a special position in the world because her frontiers were drawn by nature herself.[12] The view that Italy was a separate geographical unit on whose soil foreign Barbarians have no right to be, is a fundamental assumption of humanist political reflections.

Difficult as it is to gauge whether and how far these views reached beyond the group of the humanistically educated, there is enough evidence to show that the renewal of an era of foreign invasions

[10] For this tradition see Leonardo Olschki, *Geschichte der Neusprachlichen Wissenschaftlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1922), II, 307; Ernest Walser, *Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Renaissance* (Basel, 1932), xl; and Nino Valeri, *La Libertà e la Pace* (Turin, 1942), 118.

[11] See Hans Baron, "A Struggle for Liberty in the Renaissance," *American Historical Review,* LVIII (1953), 278 and, in general for the ideology of liberty in Florence, N. Rubinstein, "Florence and the Despots," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th series, II (1952).

[12] For instance, see Bernardo Giustiniani, "De origine urbis gestisque Venetorum historiae," in Joannes G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae,* Vol. V, pt. 1, p. 4, also p. 23; or Alexandri Benedicti Veronensis, "De rebus a Carlo VIII gestis" in Eccardi, *Corpus Historicum* (Leipzig, 1723), 1577. The classical model is Cicero's statement in *De Provinciis consularibus Oratio:* "Alpibus Italiam munierat antea natura non sine aliquo divino numine."

which opened with the expedition of Charles VIII resulted in the awakening of a national feeling in wider groups. We have popular songs directed against the foreigners;[13] we know that in 1509, before the battle of Agnadello, the soldiers shouted "Italy, Italy," into the face of their foreign opponents.[14] A technician like Biringucci suddenly inserts in his book on pyrotechnics a passionate appeal for a war of revenge and a demand for the return of the treasures which the foreign nations had looted from Italy.[15] But the clearest proof of the extent to which thinking in national terms had become general can be found in Florentine diaries, not only of the ruling group, but also of the middle classes. Of course, outbreaks of resentment against particular cruelties and atrocities of the foreign soldiers are only natural at all times in such situations and do not deserve particular attention. It is significant, however, how in those complaints about the "destruction" of the country, about the "slavery" into which it had fallen, Italy comes alive—it appears as the poor, mistreated woman of the earlier songs.[16] It can be observed also that a feeling of the common fate of the Italians has entered the political consciousness. It is reflected in the irreconcilable hatred with which Lodovico Moro is regarded as responsible for the misfortunes of Italy[17] and in the tense excitement with which the news of the outcome of the conclave after the death of Alexander VI is expected—whether the election would fall on a foreigner or an Italian. "Italy should be ruled by Italians and not by Oltramontani," writes Vaglienti.[18]

These are no new insights, but these facts deserve to be mentioned in this context, because they help to define more clearly the characteristic features of Machiavelli's chapter. The chapter reflects elements in the climate of opinion of the time. The distinguishing fact is that Machiavelli fuses these elements together into a program of political action. The evaluation of the uniqueness of Machiavelli's chapter depends, therefore, on the importance of the national idea in political action, on its connection with the political practice of its time. In more concrete form: what is the relation of Machiavelli's ideas to the various attempts to form an Italian league against the

[13] See E. Herbst, *Der Zug Karl's VIII nach Italien im Urteile der italienischen Zeitgenossen* (Basel, 1911), particularly pp. 27, 40.

[14] After Piero Pieri, *Intorno alla Politica Estera di Venezia al Principio del Cinquecento* (Naples, 1934), 48.

[15] After Olschki, *op. cit.*, II, 276.

[16] For instance, Cerretani, Storia Fiorentina, Firenze Bibl. Nazionale, ms. II.III. 74, f. 512; Parenti, Istorie Fiorentine, Firenze Bibl. Nazionale, ms. II.II. 130, f. 191 verso.

[17] See Cambi's chronicle in *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani,* XXI (1785), 136–44.

[18] Storia de' suoi Tempi, Firenze Bibl. Nazionale, ms. II. IV., 42, f. 97.

foreigners? In the years preceding the writing of *The Prince* the chief efforts of this kind were made against Charles VIII, first before his coming and then after the conquest of Naples, then against the designs of Louis XII on Milan and then by Julius II. Even in the most recent literature the leading powers in these attempts—in particular Venice and Julius II—have been regarded as being inspired by a serious concern for the national independence of Italy.[19]

Certainly the appeal to national interest is strong in all these negotiations. Immediately at the reopening of the era of foreign invasions, these considerations are movingly and eloquently expressed in the instructions which Pontano, as Chancellor of the Neapolitan King, composed in order to deflect the Borgia Pope and Lodovico Moro from their pro-French course. He drew a sharp line between the particular interest of each power and the common interest. Considering the geographical situation of Italy, a dissension among its powers could only lead to oppression by the Oltramontani, who, as they had in the past, would again become Italy's tyrants.[20] Sometime later when French troops were entering on Italian soil, a desperate attempt was made by the Pope and Florence to induce Venice to join the coalition against Charles VIII. The language in which these negotiations were couched was again that of the common national interest: they criticized the Venetians for wanting "to stay securely in port and to see the other powers weaken and suffer"; it was necessary to be "a good Italian," to have regard for the "universal danger" and "universal needs of Italy."[21]

It is almost ironical to see how Lodovico Moro, Charles VIII's former ally, takes recourse to almost identical appeals when a few years later his rule is threatened by Charles' successor, and when he wants the Florentines to support him and to abandon the French connection. Lodovico is not unaware, however, of the weakness of his position as a defender of common national interests against the foreigners. It is striking—and perhaps indicative of an increased sensitivity—that he considers it necessary frequently to apologize for his role in 1494.[22] In contrast he stresses the part he played in forging the Italian

[19] Gabriele Pepe, *La Politica dei Borgia* (Naples, 1946), 12; see also the discussion of this question in Chabod, "Gli Studi di Storia del Rinascimento," *Cinquant'Anni.*

[20] *Codice Aragonese,* ed. Trinchera (Naples, 1870), Vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 379 f., and pt. 2, pp. 97, 103. There are many other similar statements. See also R. Cessi, "La 'Lega Italica' e la sua funzione storica," *Atti del R. Instituto Veneto,* Vol. CII, pt. 2 (1942–1943), pp. 100–168.

[21] Quotations from reports of Florentine ambassadors—G. B. Ridolfi and P. A. Soderini—in Venice in 1494, Firenze Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato, Fil. XIX, cc. 616, 619, 620, 623, etc.

[22] Herbst, *op. cit.,* 30, quotes Lodovico Moro as saying to Foscari: "Confesso ho fatto

coalition, which forced Charles' retreat from Naples. But, if nothing else, Lodovico's discussions with the Florentine ambassadors show to what extent expressions like "the common well-being of Italy," and the "liberty and independence of Italy" were the common currency of the diplomatic vocabulary. But these negotiations reveal also the limits of the meaning of these terms. Lodovico warns the Florentines against the Venetians, who through their alliance with France want to become rulers over Italy. The warning against the foreigners is always connected with the fear that as a result of the upheaval of a foreign invasion a foreign or even an Italian power might attain hegemony over Italy.[23] Independence and liberty of Italy has the double meaning of keeping the Oltramontani away, but also of preserving individual Italian powers in their independence, of maintaining the status quo.[24]

This interconnection of Italian independence with the sovereignty of the individual state necessarily raises the question whether this national terminology is anything but ideology. The national interest could easily be appealed to—as it was by Naples, by Venice, by Lodovico Moro, by Julius II—when their own existence was threatened. But did it possess any reality beyond that of a pleasant and generally acceptable disguise of the pursuit of a purely egotistical policy by the individual Italian state?

An incident which pierces through the clouds of conventional terminology into concrete motivations occurred in the decisive weeks of the fall of 1494, when French troops began to enter northern Italy. The Florentine and Papal ambassadors had increased their efforts to reach an understanding with Venice. In a dramatic conversation the Papal legate said that the Doge would acquire eternal fame if, in the present situation of danger for Italy, he would participate in the attempt to liberate her, to secure her against the infidels and to maintain her in her independence. Faced by this passionate appeal, the Doge seems to have felt that conventional assurances that Venice had the interest and the well-being of Italy at heart would not suffice. "You are considered a man of good will," he said to the Papal legate; "tell me the truth upon your own conscience: Would you seriously

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gran male all'Italia, ma l'ho fatto per conservarmi in loco in cui mi trovo. L'ho fatto mal volentieri."

[23] Quotations from reports of the Florentine ambassadors—Gualterotti, Pepi, F. Soderini—in Milan in the years 1496–99, to be found in Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Lettere dei X di Balia Responsive, vols. 45 and 57; Lettere all Signoria (Signori, Carteggio, Responsive), vols. 10–12.

[24] A characteristic passage in Cerretani, *ms. cit.*, f. 282–83.

advise us to take sides against such a powerful rule as the King of France and against his ally Lodovico of Milan . . . and consequently submit to a war and its calamities which would certainly bring endless disorder and might mean ruining our state and all we have?"[25]

We also have the protocols[26] of the meetings in which the leading Florentine citizens discussed, at the end of the century and the time of Julius II, what answer ought to be given to the demands of the popes to join the league against France. In these discussions, almost all the speakers agree about the language to be used. It ought to be emphasized that the Florentines have always been "good Italians," and intended to remain so. They feel themselves different from the barbarian people beyond the Alps. In their practical considerations, however, the speakers are concerned only with Florence; in general they prefer neutrality; they consider the influence which a change of front would have on Florentine chances to reconquer Pisa; they regard the maintenance of the French alliance a necessity because of the Florentine economic interests in France. Other than immediately practical considerations do not enter the discussions.[27] Another example, though it comes from a later period, namely from the time after the battle of Pavia, may have some special interest because the paper was written when, with the overpowering strength of Charles V, the danger of a complete loss of Italian independence had become much closer and because the author is Machiavelli's great friend, Francesco Vettori. It is the time of the beginnings of the negotiations which led to the League of Cognac; the Pope had asked Vettori's advice whether to embark on this course. Vettori had no doubt that Charles aspired at hegemony over Italy, and for this reason he would consider it to be the duty of the Italian powers and in particular of the Pope to act against this plan, but there is one condition—such glorious enterprise, writes Vettori, could be recommended only if it could be done in safety. If the Emperor would really attempt to extinguish the existence of the Papal state, then one might have to adopt the policy which would risk everything in the common cause; but when one might be able to remain alive, there is no reason for embarking on a course which might be suicidal.[28] This document is a typical reflection of that tone of rational calculation with which the

[25] Firenze Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato, Fil. XIX, c. 623; published in abbreviated form by Canestrini-Desjardins, *Négociations Diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane* (Paris, 1859), I, 508.

[26] Some of them are written by Machiavelli.

[27] Firenze Archivio di Stato, Consulte e Pratiche, particularly vols. 61 (Jan. 1496), 63 (June 1497), 64 (Feb. 1498), and 70 (June and July 1512).

[28] Firenze Archivio di Stato, Carte Strozziane, 2d. ser., vol. 86.

Florentines of this period approach the practical discussions of foreign policy.

These observations would indicate that national considerations do not enter the deliberations about the course to be followed in foreign policy. The standard formulas which humanism had created, the rise of a national sentiment, the diplomatic tradition of the Italian Leagues, are all on a different level from that on which the diplomatic negotiations were actually conducted. But it would not be right to confine oneself to this entirely negative conclusion. For the strange fact is that the same men who seem little influenced by national considerations in their political practice, who, in the Pratiche, discuss foreign policy alone from the point of view of Florentine local interest, remain fascinated by the problem in their reflections. Because when the Rucellai, the Vettori, the Guicciardini write about the fifteenth century as the lost paradise, as a period in which Italian independence was maintained because peace was preserved through the successful operation of a system of an Italian balance of power, what else are they doing but drawing from the fact of the victory of the foreigners the conclusion that a national policy, a policy of co-operation among the Italian powers, could have been successful and that Italy was ruined by placing the interest of the individual state over the common interest? The transference of the issue into the past may disguise the problem, but it cannot be denied that it is the concern with the national issue which takes here the indirect form of a historical reconstruction.

Evidently, there is an inevitability in the inclusion of this problem in the political discussions. Thus the particular features of Machiavelli's approach are of a rather limited character. It is neither concern with this question in general nor the attempt to direct practical politics towards the maintenance of Italian liberty and independence which distinguishes his appeal, but the recommendation of carrying out this policy over the head of the individual state, relying on the feeling of the masses. In all other cases, such plans were conceived in the framework of co-operation of the individual states. This points to the fact that there is still another dimension within which the problem of Italian nationalism in the Renaissance has to be placed: namely its relation to internal policy, the limitation of the practical concern with the national issue by domestic policy. The aristocrats who ruled Florence neither could nor would advance—practically or theoreti-

cally—to a position which would destroy the basis of their rule; in their eyes the interconnection between the independence of Italy and the independence of the individual state was an absolute necessity. Machiavelli was not an aristocrat either personally or politically. On the contrary, his theories were directed against the rational political approach of the Florentine ruling group. The protocols of the Pratiche make this very clear: the participants of these meetings were almost exclusively members of the Florentine ruling group, and the protocols of these discussions can be considered as the most authentic and most uncensored expression of their views. In his function as secretary Machiavelli was present at many of these meetings and it is significant, therefore, that many of the views which he expresses in *The Prince* and in *The Discourses* are contradictions of individual views of speakers in the Pratiche as well as of the general presuppositions of their political approach.[29] Also, in his attitude to the national issue, Machiavelli would necessarily take a different line.

It is evident that in so far as Machiavelli possessed contact with a political party, it was with the opponents of the Florentine ruling group, the so-called democrats. Adherents of the republic and the Great Council, they were kept out of government by the Medici; but, drawing their inspiration from the political and religious teachings of Savonarola, they remained a distinguishable opposition group in the times of the first Medici restoration, till, after a short period of rule, they were defeated and annihilated in 1530. Machiavelli was close to them not only because he shared their views for the need of a broad popular basis of government. The unifying bond among this opposition group was (as recent research has emphasized)[30] a strong reform impulse, and something of the feeling of the necessity of an ethical Renaissance is underlying also Machiavelli's thinking. But with Machiavelli this reform impulse lacked the religious element while among the Florentine democrats the desired reform was seen chiefly in Christian and Church terms. This is a reason why, in this group, Machiavelli could not find any pattern for the formulation of the national issue either. In its thinking on foreign policy, this group would remain restricted to a local level or be led into universal perspectives because its outlook on foreign policy was determined by Savonarola's concept of Florence as the city of God and the demand for a renewal of the papacy in its universal function.

It is not possible to identify Machiavelli with any of the existing

[29] I am working on an article elaborating this point.
[30] E. Garin, "Desideri di Riforma," *Quaderni di Belfagor* (Florence, 1948), I, 1–11.

Florentine political parties; he had a position outside the party systems. Although his thinking emerged from the issues and problems raised in the conflicts of the Florentine parties, he transcended them through his novel approach; he was a revolutionary in his thinking. But this means that Machiavelli's thinking falls into the pattern which the revolutionary thinking of all times has taken. It is characteristic of revolutionary thinking that it emerges from the concrete problems of domestic policy and sees foreign policy in terms of a changed revolutionary world; its thoughts on foreign policy remain vague and utopian. Of that Machiavelli's handling of the national issue is an example, and this fact may help to explain the suggestive, puzzling, and elusive character of the last chapter of *The Prince*.

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The *Observationes in M. T. Ciceronem* of Marius Nizolius

NIZOLIUS' *Observationes*[1] is a lexicon of Latin based exclusively on the writings of Cicero. It was one of the best-known dictionaries from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Pagani has counted nearly seventy printings of various editions between 1535 to 1630.[2] An edition was printed in England as late as 1820. Leibnitz wrote that the lexicon would last as long as Cicero.[3] The historian Arnold Toynbee has remarked that he was brought up on Nizolius in the Latin school.

This work has today been all but forgotten. The light of recognition is now begining to fall upon Nizolius' *De veris principiis . . . philosophandi* (Parma, 1553); the notice given to it is deserved, but the continuing almost total neglect of the lexicon is not justified. The *De veris principiis* has substance to contribute to our understanding of Renaissance philosophy; the *Observationes* offers a thread for a history of Ciceronianism in modern times. It was written during a nine-year period, 1526 to 1535, at the beginning of which the imitation of Cicero was still riding high. In 1528 came Erasmus' *Ciceronianus,* on which by 1535 J. C. Scaliger and Stephen Dolet had already made their attacks. Nizolius could scarcely have written his lexicon at a more crucial time. One may well ask if the controversy left its mark on the book (or at least on the author after 1535). It is also natural to ask whether there is any nexus between Nizolius the lexicographer of 1535 and the philosopher of 1553. Did this man, who possibly began with a predominating interest in Ciceronian style, end with a predominating interest in a kind of Ciceronian philosophy?

Such questions lie behind and shine through this essay. Yet the main attempt is to tell the story of the lexicon under the following topics: (1) its composition; (2) its author's Ciceronianism; and (3) its later editions.

The *Observationes* was appropriately dedicated to Count Giovanni Francesco Gambara, who in 1522 had given Nizolius his first known

[1] *Marii Nizolii Brixellensis Observationes in M.T. Ciceronem,* Pars prima, Pars secunda, ex Prato Albuini, anno ab ortu Christi MDXXXV.

[2] Giuseppe Pagani, "Appendix," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei,* 5th Ser., II (1893), 914–16. This concludes a series of five articles on Nizolius in the same year of *Rendiconti:* "Mario Nizzoli ed il suo lessico ciceroniano," 554–75; "Le polemiche letterarie di Mario Nizzoli," 630–60; "Mario Nizzoli filosofo," 716–41; "Operosità letteraria di Mario Nizzoli," 819–26; and "Gli ultimi anni di Mario Nizzoli," 897–913.

[3] "De stilo philosophico Nizolii," *G.G. Leibnitii Opera Philosophica,* ed. J. E. Erdmann, Part I (Berlin, 1840), 57.

position, as tutor. In 1526 Nizolius began his work on the lexicon, and never did he want for the wherewithal to bring it to its completion in 1535. It was printed on the castle press.[4] He acknowledges that many have helped him, but especially Matthaeus Advocatus the civilian and his son Camillus, particularly in that they paid the printing expenses.[5]

The title of the lexicon is interesting. Nizolius thought of himself as "observator" rather than "lexicographus." He differentiates these terms in the preface to his Venetian edition of Robert Stephanus' *Thesaurus linguae latinae* (1551),[6] and he illustrates them by Perotti, Calepino, Riccius, and Dolet:

> Once upon a time the Roman Empire insured the prevalence of Latinity. But came the barbarians. . . . Yet there appeared in sundry times men like Donatus, . . . Servius, . . . Victorinus, . . . Charisius, . . . Diomedes, Priscian among the ancients; . . . among moderns . . . Lorenzo Valla, Antonio Mancinelli, Thomas Linacre; . . . and there are many more very recent ones [here a line is missing telling what they lacked]. To supply the lack two kinds of men became available:
>
> First lexicographi who make lexicons or dictionaries, among whom the older were Catholicon, Papias and some others whose works were not of the best but helpful to students. Among the moderns, Niccolo Perotti Sipontino [archbishop of Manfredonia] who wrote *Cornucopia* and Ambrogio Calepino of Bergamo whose work has been added to by so many that it seems not to be one lexicon but many. These, I say, you would rather properly call lexicographi.
>
> The others are observatores who do not amass their materials cursorily and, so to say, by chance and without discriminating between authors like the lexicographi. Observatores, on the contrary, having in mind helping themselves

[4] For the house of Gambara see Pagani (*Rendiconti,* II, 557–59), who tells of the praises of Giovanni Francesco's uncle by historians of Brescian affairs. The uncle was favored by the Emperor Maximilian, who was frequently entertained in the Gambara castle. The former could not speak German or Latin, and the Emperor told him an Italian knight should at least know Latin. The result was that he learned not only Latin but also Greek and Hebrew, and installed a press in the castle. From such stimulus derived the nephew's love of learning. We know almost nothing of Nizolius prior to 1522. It is possible that he had had no occupation till then. For not only is he completely silent about his first thirty-four years, but in the Letter Dedicatory his gratitude to Gambara is uncommonly fervent: "Tu enim primum hospitio me accepisti, quo iam tertium et decimum annum honestissimo utor: tu tenuitatem meam liberalitate tua semper sustentasti: . . . nisi tu fuisses, ego plane nihil essem. Quare non solum mea omnia, sed me ipsum prorsus me debere tibi fateor."

[5] See Letter Dedicatory. Matthew and his son are said to have helped in other ways: "qui me antea sibi multis et magnis de causis maxime obligatum." This is not specific, but the context suggests that they were among the many ("possum multos commemorare") who helped with the lexicon. No others are named. However, it is possible that Basilio Zanchi helped, for we know of his interest in Nizolius' lexicon and above all of his friendship with the Gambara. See below, n. 28.

[6] This edition makes no mention of Stephanus on the title page. It is called *Nizolius sive linguae latinae thesaurus,* Ven. 1551. See note on p. 42 of my forthcoming critical edition of Nizolius' *De veris principiis . . . philosophandi* for fuller discussion of its preface.

and others, restrict themselves only to the works of the ancients and of the most approved men. Their materials come from things they observe [observandi] in these authoritative works; from things most carefully read and weighed [diligentissime lectis pensitatisque] they collect their "observationes," and they credit them to their diverse authors [diversis tamen nominibus inscriptas]. Among the observatores is Bartholomeus Riccius[7] my friend who about seventeen years ago published his *Apparatus linguae latinae.* About three years later we published our *Observationes in M.T. Ciceronem.* Then after a while came Stephanus Doletus with his *Linguae latinae Commentarii.*[8]

Thus it is that students have more helps than before. But they distinguish between helps. They censure Perotti's *Cornucopia* because it generally gives no authority and no confirmation of ancient writers. They do not find that lack in Calepino so much, but they censure his work for excerpts from writers not generally approved and from bad and false codices. They say about the more recent editions [of Calepino] that very many more words have been added, but that almost all are taken from lists or repertories [ex indicibus sive repertoriis] of books either plainly barbarous or certainly not of adequate Latinity.

As to the observatores, they accuse Riccius' *Apparatus* of being too small. As to our *Observationes* and Doletus' *Commentarii* they complain—as they do of the lexicographi—that these works suffer from penuriousness, of poverty not only of words but of explanations and examples.

Nizolius does not always distinguish so sharply between "lexicographus" and "observator,"[9] but in general he associates "observator" with one who collects his word lists from the most approved ancients. He seems to mean that the "observator" shows use of words by sentences, clauses, or phrases taken directly from the sources. This at least is the case with his *Observationes.* I take it that he means to say also that sources are to be identified with definiteness (e.g., Cic. iii, *De offic.* 131). Nizolius does precisely this in his lexicon.

Did Nizolius use earlier dictionaries in composing his lexicon? There can be no reasonable doubt that he used them as much as possible. However, the *Observationes* is of a kind that precludes any signifi-

[7] Tiraboschi (*Storia della letteratura italiana* [Florence, 1812], VII, 1510–13) names as his main source the Preface to Ricci's *Opera* (Padua, 1748), which I have not seen. Some particulars on the *Apparatus* are given on p. 1513. See also A. Lazzari, "Un umanista romagnolo alla corte di Ercole II d'Este," estratto *Atti e Memorie della deputazione ferrarese di St. Patria* (Ferrara, 1914).

[8] Published at Lyons by Gryphius, 1536–38, it was one of the weightiest of sixteenth-century scholarly works. J. E. Sandys says the *Commentaries* are more scientific and critical than R. Stephanus' *Thesaurus* in their method, follow the sequence of meaning rather than alphabetical order and are mainly concerned with Ciceronian usage. Dolet followed this work with a collection of *Formulae* or Ciceronian phrases (1539), later added as an appendix to Nizolius. Sandys notes that this was done in editions of 1606, 1734, 1820, and also in several epitomes (*History of Classical Scholarship* [Cambridge, 1908], II, 179).

[9] Cf. *De veris princ.,* 248–49 and 250–51 and 254.

cant plagiarism. His knowledge of Valla's *Elegantiae* may be taken for granted, though he nowhere mentions it by name. For him to have copied from Valla seems on the face of it ridiculous. In organization the *Observationes* differs radically from Perotti's *Cornucopia.*[10] In Calepino's *Dictionarium*[11] the references specify the author (e.g., Cicero), author and work (Cic. *De offic.*), or author, work, and book (Cic. iii *De offic.*), but not the paragraph. Nizolius is more precise (e.g., [Cic.] iii *De offic.* 131). Besides, Nizolius' *Observationes* is even larger than Perotti's or Calepino's works. It draws only on Cicero and therefore involved a kind of preparation not required by the others. The *Apparatus linguae latinae* of Riccius I have not seen.

The *Observationes in M.T. Ciceronem* is a fairly large work, comprising two stout volumes of about thirteen hundred columns. The words, some twenty thousand, are drawn from substantially all of Cicero's writings. As has been said, the references are definite. It is not intended as a work of philology in the modern sense. It gives meanings by means of synonyms and by use in various contexts. With its help a student could start a passable essay on subjects like the idea of "ars" in Cicero, or of "philosophia," "pietas," "scientia," for the passages are generally representative. The student would perhaps look up the references for wider reading, thus acquiring much of Cicero's thought. The lexicon serves also as a volume of Ciceronian quotations. Books of quotations had a good press, and this one had a wide appeal because of the wide favor of Cicero.

In the back are some ten pages comprising the *Index utilissimus in quo verba innumera fere barbara vel latina quidem, sed non Ciceroniana, indicantur.* . . . For these barbarisms and Latin but not Ciceronian words (about a thousand) Nizolius substitutes Ciceronian or

[10] Niccolo Perotti (1430–1480), *Cornucopiae sive latinae linguae commentariorum opus* (Venice, 1489). This is a commentary on the *Spectacula* and the first book of Martial, which fills a thousand folio pages; the other four hundred pages contain his commentary on Pliny's preface. In later editions (1513–26) Perotti's commentaries on Varro, Sextus Pompeius, and Nonius Marcellus are added. See Sandys, *op. cit.,* II, 71. An elaborate alphabetical word list with references to the text constitutes this as a dictionary.

[11] Ambrogio Calepino (*ca.* 1435–1511). Tiraboschi (*op. cit.,* VII, 1552–53) says that Giuniano Maggi in 1475 and Nestore Dionigi in 1483 had published similar works, but that only Calepino's was remembered and became famous. His name became a synonym for lexicon. The first edition appeared *ca.* 1505. I have a 1522 edition which has benefited from Perotti. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed., IV, 583) says that Calepino compiled a "polyglot dictionary." I have sampled the 1522 edition, but find only occasional use of Greek. Its polyglot reputation perhaps derives from Facciolati's *Septem linguarum Calepinus* . . . Padua, MDCCLII. "Calepinus" here is only a synonym for lexicon. The work is very useful. I have found the list of six thousand "Verba Barbara" at the end a help in translating sixteenth-century terms not found in classical dictionaries, e.g., "bibliopegus" (bookbinder). On Calepino see G. Prezzolini, *Repertorio bibliografico* (Rome, 1936).

elegant equivalents. He says one may use this index as a monitor for suggesting finer expressions, which will be found very useful in speaking and writing. A few examples: for "aequanimitas" (which he says is preclassical) Nizolius here substitutes the Ciceronian "animus aequus, animi aequitas"; "bona verba" he says is Terentian, and "dii meliora" Ciceronian. "Ecclesia" should be "aedes sacra" or "templum." See also "encyclopaedia," "ens," "episcopus," "eremita," "essentia," "fomes peccati," "gratitudo," "irreligiosus," "libraria," "mechanicus," "missa," "syllogismus," "universaliter."

The *Observationes* has given Nizolius the name of Ciceronian. Hartfelder wrote of the Cicero-charmed Nizolius (der begeisterte Ciceronianer),[12] and Miss Scott called him an "ultra Ciceronian."[13] In men's minds he was equated with Ciceronians like Bembo and Longolius. This was perhaps natural for Nizolius was known almost exclusively for his lexicon. His name was as common a synonym of "Cicero lexicon" as Webster's has been of "English dictionary." His other writings were largely neglected. His style alone can show that he is no imitator of Cicero like Bembo or Longolius. A look at the matter of his other writings can show a doctrine of style requiring form to suit content. By 1553, the year of the *De veris principiis,* Nizolius writes as a philosopher. That he thinks of himself as a Ciceronian still, not as a Longolian imitator but as a champion of the union of philosophy and eloquence as advocated by Cicero, is clear from the later writings. But does it shine through in 1535, the year of the *Observationes?* To answer this would require reconstructing the mental history of Nizolius. The slenderness of the data disallows of a connected narrative. But there are suggestions.

His nephew reports that as a youth Nizolius read Cicero night and day.[14] Nizolius himself gives us but one glimpse into his student days, when he tells of the influence of Rudolph Agricola in his set.[15] The

[12] Karl Hartfelder, *Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae* (Berlin, 1889), 346. On extreme Ciceronianism see Théophile Simar, *Christophe de Longueil, humaniste (1488–1522)* (Louvain, 1911), 97–104.

[13] I. Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero* (New York, 1910), 117.

[14] Pagani, *op. cit.,* 557–58.

[15] "Atque hoc modo isti octo Aristotelis Topicorum libri ita recepti fuerunt et approbati ab omnibus usque ad aetatem nostram, ut nemo quod quidem ego sciam, de eorum doctrina quin vera, utilis necessariaque esset, dubitarit, aut contra eam aliquid dicere in dubiumque revocare tentarit. *Sed nobis pueris nescio quomodo in ultima Germania extitit Rodulphus Agricola vir natione Phrisius et in primis doctus, qui qua ingenii perspicacitate multa alia vidit,* hoc etiam animadvertit, et intellexit: hanc Aristotelicam Topicorum doctrinam non ita esse veram et utilem, ut superiores omnes existimaverunt"; *De veris princ.,* 284 (italics mine).

Letter Dedicatory of the lexicon informs us that his patron Gambara excels in the pursuit not only of "eloquentia" but of "scientia et sapientia."[16] He praises Gambara for adumbrating Cicero's "dicendi genus," and toward the end of the letter he says this means "a very abundant and elegant store not only of truly Latin words but also of subject matters and sentences [rerum et sententiarum] such as he has tried to provide in his *Observationes.*"[17]

The Letter Dedicatory reflects the Ciceronian controversy of the time. Its tone is wry with respect to works like the *Ciceronianus* and *Cicero relegatus.* The reference is to Erasmus and Ortensio Lando. Nizolius says he had intended to make an answer to them but that other business compels postponement of it.[18] The answer never came to either writer. Lando in fact twits him for this neglect, in his *Paradossi.*[19]

Izora Scott suggests that Erasmus burlesqued Nizolius and Dolet in Nosoponus of the *Ciceronianus.*[20] Théophile Simar argues more persuasively that it was Longolius.[21] Vernon Hall does not suggest a specific Nosoponic prototype.[22] It is possible that Erasmus thought of

[16] Importance may be attached to this because Nizolius helped direct the Count's studies.

[17] The subject matter in the lexicon has been illustrated above, e.g., the idea of "ars," etc. Turning to the *Index utilissimus,* one may question whether Nizolius means to eliminate from usage not only barbarisms and words not approved by Cicero generally, but also and especially words current in the vocabulary of the scholastics. His inclusion in the *Index* of "ens," "essentia," and "universaliter" is not decisive but is suggestive. In the *De veris principiis,* e.g., he attacks with vigor the term "universalia realia." He already does so in *Defensiones aliquot locorum Ciceronis in libro De Officiis, contra Disquisitiones Coelii Calcagnini Ferrariensis* (1548), a copy of which is in *Ciceronis De officiis libri III, cum P. Marsi, F. Maturantii, Omniboni . . . Commentariis. M. Nizolius . . . Defensiones aliquot* (Venice, 1584), 246, col. 2. In the same connection he says that in another place ("alio loco") he has said many things about this. He intimates that his opinions were well known. The point is important, for the potential power of a dictionary is great. It is a kind of blue book of language. In the *De veris principiis* (Lib. I, c. 2, p. 17) he says that Lorenzo Valla cut out of scholastic discourse only some branches and foliage but left the trunk standing. It may be that he was not as clear on the matter in 1535 as he was in 1553. One may bear in mind, however, that in 1535 he was already forty-seven years old.

[18] Nizolius expects his lexicon to be attacked, "malevolentissimis invidorum obtrectationibus," then adds: "Nam sunt plurimi hoc tempore, qui non solum *nobis, laboribusque nostris,* sed etiam ipsi (si diis placet) Ciceroni graviter obtrectent, editis nescio quibus *Ciceronianis, et Ciceronibus relegatis.* Quibus omnibus equidem hic respondere, et eorum ridicula obiecta refutare decreveram: sed aliis occupationibus districtus, rem hanc in aliud tempus differre coactus sum" (italics mine). Erasmus' *Ciceronianus* appeared in 1528. In 1534 was published Lando's *Cicero relegatus et Cicero revocatus. Dialogi festivissimi,* apud Seb. Gryphium, at Lyons.

[19] *Paradossi, cioè sentenze fuore del comun parere* (Lyons, Pulloni, 1543), 100–106. The subject of Paradox 30 is, "Che M. Tullio sia non sol ignorante di Filosofia, ma di Retorica, di Cosmografia, e dell'Istoria."

[20] *Op. cit.,* 105. [21] *Op. cit.,* 117–19.

[22] "Life of Julius Caesar Scaliger," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* New Ser., Vol. XL, pt. 2 (1950), 96–97.

Longolius, but the caricature is so broad that practically any Ciceronian might see himself in some part of it. Scott presupposes that Nizolius' project had come to the attention of Erasmus. If this is so, we have no proof of it. In any case, Nizolius may have recognized his image in the mirror.[23]

While the *Ciceronianus* angered Nizolius, it may have been one of the moderating influences of his Ciceronianism. He does not join in the attacks, such as J. C. Scaliger's and Stephen Dolet's, on Erasmus.[24] I have found no censorious reference to Erasmus in any Nizolian writing after 1546.[25] Perhaps the clearest evidence of a modified position is in these words from the preface of Nizolius' Venetian edition of Stephanus' *Thesaurus* (1551):

> As to myself, I frankly confess that by this book I have been helped, and am daily helped; and though I think that in my *Observationes in M.T. Ciceronem* I was not inferior to other scholars, yet I freely admit and everywhere proclaim that from this *Thesaurus* I have derived much more use and fruit than from my own studies and labors. For I had composed my book only of Cicero's and Ciceronian terms, but Stephanus took his matter from observing anything worthwhile of both Cicero and other authors.

Even allowing for his desire to be generous to Stephanus, Nizolius could not have said this if his Ciceronianism had not been tempered.[26] The data suggest that one of the tempering influences had been Erasmus' book.

[23] This may be in part the meaning of *"nobis, laboribusque nostris,"* in n. 18 above.

[24] See Simar, *op. cit.*, 117–28; Hall, *op. cit.*, 99–104, 110–14.

[25] In *Epistola ad Majoragium* (1546) Nizolius writes: "Non enim impune feres, sed idem accidet, quod Erasmo, qui dum Ciceronem et Ciceronianos iniuste insectatur, ipse a Ciceronianis iuste et optimo iure confossus fuit." This *Epistola,* says Pagani (*op. cit.*, 638) was first published by P. Burmannus, *Marquardi, Gudii, et doctorum virorum ad eum epistolae . . .* (Utrecht, 1697), 132. I have used a reprinting of it in J. P. Kohl, *Deliciae epistolicae* (Lipsia, 1731), 297–309. The *Epistola* censured Majoragius for his *Antiparadoxon: libri sex in quibus M.T. Ciceronis paradoxa refellentur* (Lyons, 1546). Nizolius later wrote in a different vein. In *Antapologia . . . contra Maioragium* (1547 or 1548), 22, he quotes from the *Apophthegmata* of "doctissimus vir Erasmus Rhoterodamus." In the preface to the 1551 Venetian edition of Stephanus' *Thesaurus linguae latinae* he names Erasmus among his authorities for "interpretationes dictionum." In the *De veris principiis,* 175, he cites him with approval. On the other hand he assails somewhat violently a censure of grammarians in Scaliger's *De causis linguae latinae* (Lyons, 1540). On Scaliger see *De veris princ.*, 279, on Scaliger's book, Hall, *op. cit.*, 124.

[26] Simar (*op. cit.*, 134–35) says that one of the effects of the *Ciceronianus* was that some Ciceronians began to stress substance as well as elegance, and illustrates it by the case of Paolo Manuzio. In the *De veris principiis* Nizolius often speaks of "eloquentia" but never of "elegantia"; as to Cicero, he does not disdain to differ from him (*De veris princ.*, 334, 354). Cicero's doctrine of the union of philosophy with rhetoric is the rock on which he builds this work.

Even a superficial look at the fortunes of the *Observationes* through the succeeding decades and centuries should suggest how desirable would be a complete survey. It can show something of its wide distribution during its first century.[27] It is fairly safe to say that the editions of Basel (1538, 1541, 1544) and of Venice (1538, 1541, 1548) are the original unchanged, but supplemented by a word list of Basilio Zanchi. The Venetian edition of 1551 seems still to use the original but is now supplemented not only by Zanchi's list but by a new list of Nizolius.[28] In 1548 Celio Secundo Curione published, in Basel, *Nizolius sive thesaurus Ciceronianus,*[29] whose title shows that by 1548 Nizolius and

[27] Pagani's list (see above, n. 1) may not be complete or fully accurate. As to dates one must allow for possible errors, for some are taken from secondary sources, such as Wilhelm S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1882), for a Basel edition of 1559. However, about fifty seem based on inspections made by himself and Spinelli.

Pratalboino (editio princeps) 1535
Basel 1536 (should be 1538), 1541, 1544, 1548, 1553, 1559, 1563, 1572, 1576, 1583, 1613
Venice 1538, 1541, 1548, 1551, 1555, 1558, 1561, 1563, 1566, 1570, 1576, 1576, 1580, 1581, 1584, 1584, 1588, 1588, 1588, 1588, 1591, 1596, 1601, 1606, 1606, 1607, 1610, 1611, 1617, 1620, 1624, 1630
Lyons 1552, 1552, 1552, 1562, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1584, 1588, 1607, 1607, 1608, 1608, 1613, 1627
Geneva 1612, 1613, 1621
Aachen 1613
Frankfurt 1613, 1613
Paris 1622.

Where dates are repeated—e.g., Venice 1588, 1588, 1588, 1588—there were as many printers, or even in part the same printer with differing editions; the latter is so for Frankfurt 1613, 1613, in which case one printer, Tampachius, brought out a Cellarius edition and a Lucius edition "ad instar Nizolii"; see below, n. 31, n. 36.

[28] In his Greeting to the Reader (Venice, 1551) Nizolius says: "After I saw the first edition of our *Observationes* through the press at Pratalboino, more than thirteen years ago, the printers at Basel put out another some three years later. This Basel edition was so enlarged and enriched that it seemed impossible to add more. . . . To this present edition I add the word list of Zanchi which had been added to previous editions, and also a new list of my own collected over the past thirteen years, partly from Cicero and from writers most like Cicero." Since this edition (Venice, 1551) is identical with the editio princeps save for Zanchi's and his own lists, we may conclude that the words "so enlarged and enriched" mean only augmentation by Zanchi in the previous editions mentioned. One may also query whether the original type was carried to Basel and to Venice, or whether new copies were struck off on Gambara's press at Pratalboino and shipped to Basel and Venice for augmentation. Zanchi had added about nineteen hundred items.

On Zanchi see Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, VII, 1372–74; Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique,* English version, 1734+, under Zanchi (Basilio). Zanchi published a *Latinorum verborum ex variis auctoribus epitome.* He was a canon regular, and got some fame as a poet. It is likely that he died in prison under the strict Paul IV. The reason for his prosecution is not clear. It may mean nothing that he was a brother of Girolamo Zanchi, the famous Calvinist theologian, but the relationship certainly would not have helped him. That Basilio and Girolamo were brothers is affirmed by D. Schmidt, "Girolamo Zanchi," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Gotha, 1859), 626. In Bayle (*op. cit.,* under "Gambara [Laur.]") Basilio is described as the bosom friend of Lorenzo Gambara of Brescia, certainly one of the Gambara family with which Nizolius resided; see above, n. 4.

[29] In his Prooemium, Curione is almost extravagant in his praise of Nizolius. He says

Ciceronian lexicon are synonymous.[30] This edition is enlarged not by supplementary word lists but in the text. New type was cast. Jacobus Cellarius published *Marius Nizolius sive thesaurus Ciceronianus post . . . operas Basilii Zanchi, Caelii Secundi Curionis, et Marcelli Squarcialupi Plumpinensis* (Basel, 1583).[31]

To my knowledge the editions made by others so far bear the name of Nizolius as synonym for "Ciceronian lexicon." Alexander Scot exemplifies a departure from this rule. His edition is *Apparatus latinae locutionis . . . post Marii Nizolii principia ex M.T. Ciceronis libris collectus,* 1587.[32] In the Letter Dedicatory he refers to the *Apparatus* as "this Nizolius." A second edition has added Greek synonyms, omitted in the first. It is a most useful work for tracking down references to Cicero. It is the only edition mentioned by Sandys till Facciolati. Scot's *Ad studiosam inventutem* (dated 1588) merits careful reading. It is in this period that Philip Sidney wrote his *Defence of Poesie* (1583; published in two versions, 1595 and 1598), which refers to "Nizolian paper-books."[33] Marc-Antoine Muret writes in a similar vein in *Variae lectiones* (published in three installments, 1558, 1580, 1585).[34] Muret tells of laying traps for ultra-Ciceronians whose touchstone was the lexicon of Nizolius. However, neither the extremists nor their critics seemed to damage much the popularity of Ciceronian lexicons. As late as 1734 Facciolati brought out his edition of Nizolius as *Lexicon Ciceronianum.*[35]

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he has Nizolius' permission to enlarge and publish the lexicon. This presupposes letters, unless the two had met. Curione was a prominent Protestant refugee. See F. C. Church, *Italian Reformers, 1534–1564* (New York, 1932), 61–70; D. Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1939), 103–119, 184–201, 261–74; R. H. Bainton, *Concerning Heretics . . . attributed to Sebastian Castellio* (New York, 1925), 83–86; and Tiraboschi, *op. cit.,* VII, 1554–56.

[30] It is curious that Nizolius should have permitted his name to dominate the title page of the 1551 Venetian edition of Stephanus' *Thesaurus* (see above, n. 5). If it was a merchandising device—and I suppose it was—it would show Nizolius' fame. He says in the preface that Stephanus published it through him ("edidit nobis"), a somewhat enigmatic statement. It presupposes correspondence. It is interesting to know that Robert Stephanus' famous son Henri attacked Nizolius' *Observationes* (1535 edition) in two works: *Pseudo-Cicero* (1567) and *Nizoliodidascalus* (1587). I suspect that the lack of Robert's name on the title page of the 1551 Venetian edition had a bearing on these attacks. Incidentally, 1551 is the very year in which Robert transferred his press to Geneva; in Paris he had been printer for the Sorbonne but had run into trouble with that institution on account of his comments on the New Testament.

[31] A second edition was printed at Frankfurt in 1613, see below. Cellarius also published *Adjuncta sive epitheta Ciceroniana* (Basel, 1589). He was the great-grandfather of Christopher Cellarius; see W. Pökel, *Philologisches Schriftstellerlexicon* (Leipzig, 1882), 44. I have no information about an edition by Squarcialupus.

[32] According to Sandys, printed in Basel (*op. cit.,* II, 146).

[33] In Allan H. Gilbert, ed., *Literary Criticism, Plato to Dryden* (New York, 1940), 454.

[34] Sandys, *op. cit.,* II, 150–51.

[35] *Ibid.,* II, 146. By 1534 Forcellini had already been some fifteen years at work on

In 1613 appeared a lexicon non-Ciceronian but "in the likeness of Nizolius." M. Lucianus Lucius, professor at Basel, published *Aerarium seu thesaurus latinae linguae venustus ac elegans instar thesauri Nizoliani ex omnibus purioris ac tersioris latini sermonis auctoribus, selectus, ac congestus,* Francofurti, apud God. Tampachium MDCXIII. Lucius draws his items from thirty-four authors, from Plautus to Claudian, *excepting* Cicero.[36] I know of no later edition.

Let this be enough to show that a history of the Nizolian lexicon is desirable. A book so continuously used—from 1535 to J. E. Sandys' time[37]—should have its fortunes traced. Too, there are its augmenters, its editors, and their prefaces. It is also part of the story of Cicero's odyssey through modern times.

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his *Totius Latinitatis lexicon* (published posthumously, Padua, 1771); *ibid.*, II, 374–77.

[36] Also in 1613 Tampachius struck off a new printing of Cellarius' edition of 1583, see p. 57 and n. 31. Lucius' work was to be supplementary to Cellarius'. He had wanted to put Cellarius' and his own work in one binding. The printer explains in the Greeting to the Reader that this is impractical, also that many who already possess a Nizolius would be paying too much, so it was put in a separate binding. All this accounts for the fact that Lucius' work begins with page 1921, for Cellarius' had ended with page 1920.

[37] *Op. cit.*, II, 146.

Renaissance Problems in Calvin's Theology[1]

Professor Roy W. Battenhouse has recently presented us with a most stimulating and perceptive essay on "The Doctrine of Man in Calvin and in Renaissance Platonism."[2] In it he argued that the general mode of Calvin's thought about the states of man—innocent, fallen, and saved—conformed to the pattern of Renaissance neoplatonist ideas of the different levels of human existence. Although the specific conclusions and content of Calvin's thinking (e.g., predestination and the denial of free will) were on their face diametrically opposed to those of Pico della Mirandola and Ficino,

> Calvin's rejection of humanism for theology, and of reason for revelation, seems to have been a rejection more often of conclusions than of basic definitions and assumptions. . . . Calvin's doctrine of man may have a subterranean dependence on the very Renaissance optimism and rationalism which Calvin sought to reprove and chasten.[3]

Although there may be certain emphases in Professor Battenhouse's arguments that might well be supplemented, the present paper is essentially an independent and parallel consideration of some of the concerns that Calvin shared with Renaissance writers, including some humanists. Its focus is on the way in which Calvin dealt with certain general problems of the relation of man and his world rather than on the extent to which he was or was not neoplatonic, stoic, humanist, or scholastic—to all of which schools he was in some ways indebted and from which he in other ways decisively differed.

The key question in the history of Christian ethics has been the relation of value to reality. To what extent could the Golden Rule, the injunction to "love thy neighbor as thyself," be realized, human nature being whatever it happened to be thought to be and the world whatever way it was conceived? Calvin's thinking on this question took place after two centuries of particularly agitated concern with the problem, and it was his conviction that through his theology he had resolved the moral crisis it had presented. Some periods of time and some systems of Christian thought make rather bland assumptions about the ease with which a Christian can live according to his values. Not so the last two centuries of the Middle Ages. One of the Reformation's challenges to the authority of the Church was based on the

[1] An early version of this paper was read before the New England Conference on Renaissance Studies, at Northampton, Mass., October 30–31, 1953.

[2] *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IX (1948), 447–71.

[3] *Ibid.*, 469–70. Of course, the writings of Pico and Ficino might well be considered as much theological as humanist.

fact that—despite the voices of gloomy prophets, skeptical critics, and ardent proponents of reform—the Church was committed as an institution to the premise that with its aid an individual could lead a Christian life, the consequence for many being either a resort to hypocrisy or descent to despair. With only a limited amount of exaggeration it could be said that Luther and Calvin in their separate ways sought to show how one could not lead a Christian life and still remain a Christian. Weber and Troeltsch, among many others, have made this clear.[4] Nevertheless, the immediate influence of each of the reformers was to stimulate a striking intensification of faith which had its counterpart in a reformed Catholicism.

How was this accomplished? In Luther's case there was an apparently simple separation of Christian faith from the unchristian works one was compelled to perform in the circumstances of the world. Without entering into his actually rather complicated position,[5] it may be said for purposes of comparison that Luther affirmed a subjective inner fulfillment of Christian values, coupled with a recognition of the objective necessity of conforming to the unchristian outward circumstances.

Calvin also started with a separation of subjective and objective elements. His method, however, was to demonstrate that despite contemporary pessimism, the objective nature of the material world, society, and man really did manifest the hand and purpose of God, and that it was the subjective corruption and debility of human perception, consequential to the Fall, that made things seem perverse and uncertain. Men tended to overestimate their own righteousness, taking their seemingly good motives at their face value and exaggerating their moral capacity because any notion that they were superior appealed to their vanity. Viewing affairs according to their own distorted perceptions, men could never see the true purpose and hand of God in the world, and so they failed to appreciate his wisdom and goodness even in the manifestations of disaster and evil in natural and human events.

[4] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, tr. Talcott Parsons (London, 1930); Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, tr. Olive Wyon (London, 1931), II, 515–656. Cf., on the other hand, Reinhold Niebuhr's defense of Reformation theology against what he considered to be the falsely optimistic Medieval Catholic and Renaissance views of man, particularly his *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (New York, 1941 and 1943). I have emphasized a contrary view to that of Niebuhr in "The Problem of Free Will in the Renaissance and the Reformation," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, X (1949), 51–62.

[5] For a more extended discussion see my essay, "The Religious Foundation of Luther's Social Views," in *Records of Medieval Civilization, Texts and Studies in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

Calvin seems to conceive of the human defect in essentially perceptual terms:

> Because from our natural proneness to hypocrisy, any vain appearance of righteousness abundantly contents us instead of the reality; and everything within and around us being exceedingly defiled, we are delighted with what is least so, as extremely pure, while we confine our reflections within the limits of human corruption. So the eye, accustomed to see nothing but black, judges that to be very white, which is but whitish or perhaps brown. Indeed, the senses of our body may assist us in discovering how grossly we err in estimating the powers of the soul. For if at noon day we look either on the ground or at any surrounding objects, we conclude our vision to be very strong and piercing; but when we raise our eyes and steadily look at the sun, they are at once dazzled and confounded with such a blaze of brightness, and we are constrained to confess that our sight, so piercing in viewing terrestrial things, when directed to the sun, is dimness itself. Thus also it happens in consideration of our spiritual endowments.[6]

Professor Battenhouse has noted the similarity of passages such as this to Plato's myth of the cave.[7] It might be said that while for Plato men sinned out of ignorance, for Calvin men were ignorant out of sin.

Calvin, therefore, took it upon himself to show in the first book of the *Institutes* the objective evidence of the rationality and order of nature and society which indicate their divine origin and acceptability to man. At the same time he felt compelled to indicate all the idolatrous and anthropomorphic and magical distortions of reality introduced by men into their conception of it. In this respect he revealed a kinship, not only between his theology and the ancient Greek quest for an underlying rationality, but also with the new scientific

[6] The present study is based on Calvin's final and definitive version of the *Institutio Christianae Religionis* published in 1559. I have used the edition of Wilhelm Baum, Eduard Cunitz and Eduard Reuss (Brunswick, 1869), Vol. II of which contains the 1559 version. References will be to book, chapter, and paragraph. Translations are from John Allen's version (6th American ed.; Philadelphia, 1932).

"Quia enim ad hypocrisin natura propensi sumus omnes, ideo inanis quaedam iustitiae species pro iustitia ipsa nobis abunde satisfacit. Et quia nihil intra nos vel circum apparet quod non sit plurima obscoenitate inquinatum, quod paulo minus foedum est pro purissimo arridet, quamdiu mentem nostram intra humanae pollutionis fines continemus. Non secus atque oculus, cui nihil alias obversatur nisi nigri coloris, candidissimum esse iudicat, quod tamen subobscura est albedine, vel nonnulla etiam fuscedine aspersum. Quin ex corporeo sensu propius adhuc discernere licet quantum in aestimandis animae virtutibus hallucinemur. Nam si vel terram despicimus medio die, vel intuemur quae aspectui nostro circumcirca patent, validissima perspicacissimaque acie videmur nobis praediti; at ubi in solem suspicimus, atque arrectis oculis contemplamur, vis illa quae egregie in terra valebat, tanto fulgore protinus perstringitur et confunditur, ut fateri cogamur, illud nostrum in considerandis terrenis acumen, ubi ad solem ventum est, meram esse hebetudinem. Ita et in reputandis spiritualibus nostris bonis contingit"; I, i, 2.

[7] *Op. cit.*, 462, in reference to *Inst.*, III, ii, 19.

attitude that was taking shape in his own time and reached a culmination in the seventeenth century.[8] Like the new philosophy of science, his point of view was also a development out of the fourteenth-century nominalist separation of subjective conceptions from objective perceptions. Calvin's effort to eliminate religious subjectivism ran parallel to the later effort of Galileo to eliminate or control the subjective factors distorting the observation of natural phenomena by distinguishing between primary and secondary qualities and correcting for the error and bias of the observer.

It is interesting that Calvin believed that in this way not God but the divine order might be discovered and that he rejected any tendency to identify God and nature, such as Spinoza was to formulate.

> I confess, indeed, that the expression nature is God, may be used in a pious sense by a pious mind; but it is harsh and inconsistent with strict propriety of speech, nature being rather an order prescribed by God; it is dangerous in matters so momentous, and demanding peculiar caution, to confound the Deity with the inferior course of his works.[9]

Is it too much to compare this attitude to the general positivism of the scientists concerning ultimate causality and their concentration on the discovery of phenomenal regularities and orders?

At any rate there are many passages in this first book which seem to chastise men for failing to appreciate the grandeur of their world or even of their own natures, emphasizing, of course, that such a "Discovery of the World and of Man" should reflect glory on its Divine Maker and not on his miserable beneficiary.

> Of his wonderful wisdom, both heaven and earth contain innumerable proofs: not only those more abstruse things which are the subjects of astronomy, medicine, and the whole science of physics, but those which force themselves on the view of the most illiterate of mankind, so that they cannot open their eyes with-

[8] Please note that I am not claiming any causal relationship between theology and science but am only suggesting that there was a parallel epistemological structure in them. In Calvin's case this was not merely a restatement of the classical idealist point of view. The latter (e.g., Plato) regarded the dualism between chaos and order as part of the metaphysical structure of the universe. Calvin on the other hand regarded the anarchic elements of both nature and human history as anarchic or chaotic only in appearance, but in reality a part of a divinely determined order of events. His concern was epistemological. My impression is that this holds true of the early modern philosophy of science as well. However, Professor Robert K. Merton in his "Science and Technology in the Seventeenth Century," *Osiris*, IV (1938), 360–632, has attempted to demonstrate an intimate relationship between Calvinist ideas and scientific theories in seventeenth-century English scientists.

[9] "Fateor quidem pie hoc posse dici, modo a pio animo proficiscatur, naturam esse Deum; sed quia dura est et impropria loquutio quum potius natura sit ordo a Deo praescriptus, in rebus tanti ponderis, et quibus debetur singularis religio, involvere confuse Deum cum inferiore operum suorum cursu, noxium est"; I, v, 5.

out being constrained to witness them. Adepts, indeed, in those liberal arts, or persons just initiated into them, are thereby enabled to proceed much further in investigating the secrets of the Divine Wisdom. Yet ignorance of those sciences prevents no man from such a survey of the workmanship of God, as is more than sufficient to excite his admiration of the Divine Architect. In disquisitions concerning the motions of the stars, in fixing their situations, measuring their distances, and distinguishing their peculiar properties, there is need of skill, exactness and industry; and the providence of God being more clearly revealed in these discoveries, the mind ought to rise to a sublimer elevation for the contemplation of his glory. But since the meanest and most illiterate of mankind, who are furnished with no other assistance than their own eyes, cannot be ignorant of the excellence of the divine skill, exhibiting itself in that endless, yet regular variety of the innumerable celestial host—it is evident that the Lord abundantly manifests his wisdom to every individual on earth. Thus it belongs to a man of pre-eminent ingenuity to examine with the critical exactness of Galen, the connection, the symmetry, the beauty and the use of the human body. But the composition of the human body is universally acknowledged to be so ingenious, as to render its maker the object of deserved admiration. And therefore some of the philosophers of antiquity have justly called man a microcosm, or world in miniature; because he is an eminent specimen of the power, goodness, and wisdom of God, and contains in him wonders enough to occupy the attention of our minds, if we are not indisposed to such a study.[10]

While a passage such as this can be regarded as similar in spirit to Book XXII, chap. 24 of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei,* or to Psalm 19 (to which Calvin makes reference in the preceding paragraph), there is also in it an element of special veneration of the more penetrating knowledge and appreciation of divine workman-

[10] "Mirificam eius sapientiam quae testentur, innumera sunt tum in coelo, tum in terris documenta: non illa modo reconditiora, quibus propius observandis astrologia, medicina, et tota physica scientia destinata est; sed quae rudissimi cuiusque idiotae aspectui se ingerunt, ut aperiri oculi nequeant quin eorum cogantur esse testes. Equidem qui liberales illas artes vel imbiberunt, vel etiam degustarunt, earum subsidio adiuti longe altius provehuntur ad introspicienda divinae sapientiae arcana; nemo tamen earum inscitia impeditur quominus artificii satis superque pervideat in Dei operibus, unde in opificis admirationem prorumpat. Nempe ad disquirendos astrorum motus, distribuendas sedes, metienda intervalla, proprietates notandas, arte ac exactiore industria opus est; quibus perspectis, ut Dei providentia explicatius se profert, ita in eius gloriam conspiciendam, animum par est aliquanto sublimius assurgere. Sed quum ne plebeii quidem et rudissimi, qui solo oculorum adminiculo instructi sunt, ignorare queant divinae artis excellentiam, ultro se in ista innumerabili, et tamen adeo distincta et disposita coelestis militiae varietate exserentem, constat neminem esse cui non abunde sapientiam suam Dominus patefaciat. Similiter in humani corporis structura connexionem, symmetriam, pulchritudinem, usum, ea quam Galenus adhibet solertia pensiculare, eximii est acuminis. Sed omnium tamen confessione, prae se fert corpus humanum tam ingeniosam compositionem, ut ob eam merito admirabilis opifex iudicetur. Ac proinde quidam ex philosophis olim hominem non immerito vocarunt μικρόχοσμον, quia rarum sit potentiae, bonitatis et sapientiae Dei specimen, satisque miraculorum in se contineat occupandis nostris mentibus, modo ne attendere pigeat"; I, v, 2–3.

ship that is open to the scholar and man of science. And while he, indeed, refers to sentiments expressed in the books of Job and Isaiah, there is a distinctive quality in his grandiose imagination which visualizes God as an artist displaying his powers to a rapt human audience through the media of the elements. Thus he seems to have been in sympathy with the grandiloquent portrayal of the colossal power of natural forces that was part of sixteenth-century artistic sensibility. The following passage is patently not that of a Shakespeare, nor adequately descriptive of a Leonardo drawing, but it has an aesthetic quality related to their fascination with meteorological powers.

Now what illustrious specimens of his power have we to arrest our attention! unless it be possible for us not to know what strength is required to sustain with his word this immense fabric of heaven and earth; now by his mere nod to shake the heaven with roaring peals of thunder, to consume whatever he choose with lightnings, and set the atmosphere on fire with the flame; now to disturb it with tempests in various forms, and immediately, if he please, to compose it all to instantaneous serenity; to restrain, suspended as it were in air, the sea, which seems by its elevation, to threaten the earth with continual devastation; now raising it in a tremendous manner, by the tumultuous violence of the winds, and now appeasing the waves to render it calm.[11]

In another passage Calvin bids man admire the handiwork of God in the beauty of the stellar order.

Consider how great must have been the Artist who disposed the multitude of stars which adorn the heaven in such regular order that it is impossible to imagine anything more beautiful to behold; who fixed some in their stations so that they cannot be moved; who granted to others a freer course, but so that they never travel beyond their appointed limits; who so regulates the motions of all that they measure days and nights, months, years and seasons of the year, and also reduces the inequality of the days, which we constantly witness, to such a medium that it occasions no confusion. So also, when we observe his power in

[11] "Iam potentia quam praeclaris speciminibus nos in considerationem sui rapit? nisi forte latere nos potest cuius sit virtutis, infinitam hanc coeli ac terrae molem suo verbo sustentare; solo nutu nunc fragore tonitruum coelum concutere, fulminibus quidlibet exurere, fulgetris aerem accendere; nunc variis tempestatum formis conturbare, eundem ipsum statim, ubi libuit, uno momento serenare; mare, quod assiduam terrae vastationem minari sua altitudine videtur, quasi in aere suspensum coercere; et nunc horrendum in modum tumultuoso ventorum impetu concitare, nuc sedatis undis, pacatum reddere"; I, v, 6. Calvin's French prose style has long been admired, but he was equally a master of a Latin style whose flavor Allen most ably captures in his translation. However much he may have been inspired by acknowledged Biblical models, this language is his own, and the imaginative quality is sixteenth century in its emphasis on a single purpose behind the shifting manifestations of meteorological power.

sustaining so great a mass, in governing the rapid revolutions of the celestial machine, and the like.[12]

While Calvin could stand in wonder at the power and beauty of the universe, he was primarily a theologian and a moralist, and he never lost sight of his major scheme of inducing men to submit themselves to the Divine Purpose rather than their own. And all these passages were intended to show that behind the disorderly appearance of natural and human events there lies a reality of order on a scale that is incomprehensible from the puny perspective of man. For example:

When thick clouds obscure the heavens, and a violent tempest arises, because a gloomy mist is before our eyes, and thunder strikes our ears, and terror stupefies all our faculties, all things seem to us to be blended in confusion; yet during the whole time the heavens remain in the same quiet serenity. So it must be concluded, that while the turbulent state of the world deprives us of our judgment, God, by the light of his own righteousness and wisdom, regulates all those commotions in the most exact order and directs them to their proper end.[13]

He was perhaps even more concerned to refute the false interpretation that men placed upon the chaotic character of historical events and personal destinies. Even when God seemed to be operating in an arbitrary and capricious way through fortune, order prevailed.

It must also be observed that, although the paternal favor and beneficence of God, or the severity of his justice, is frequently conspicuous in the whole course of his providence, yet sometimes the causes of events are concealed, so that a suspicion intrudes itself that the revolutions of human affairs are conducted by the blind impetuosity of fortune; or the flesh solicits us to murmur, as though God amused himself with tossing men about like tennis balls.[14]

[12] "Prioris exemplum est, dum reputamus quanti fuerit artificis, hanc stellarum multitudinem, quae in coelo est, tam disposita serie ordinare et aptare ut nihil excogitari possit aspectu speciosius; alias ita inserere et affigere suis stationibus ut moveri nequeant; aliis liberiorem cursum concedere, sed ita ut errando non ultra spatium vagentur; omnium motum ita temperare, ut dies et noctes, menses, annos et anni tempora metiatur; et hanc quoque, quam quotidie cernimus, inaequalitatem dierum ad tale temperamentum redigere ut nihil confusionis habeat. Sic quoque dum potentiam observamus, in sustinenda tanta mole, in tam celeri coelestis machinae volutatione gubernanda, et similibus"; I, xiv, 21.

[13] "Quum coelum occupant densae nubes, exoriturque violenta tempestas, quia et tristis caligo oculis obiicitur, et tonitru aures percellit, et sensus omnes terrore obstupefiunt, videntur nobis omnia confundi et misceri; eadem interim semper manet in coelo quies et serenitas. Ita statuendum est, dum res in mundo turbulentae iudicium nobis eripiunt, Deum ex pura iustitiae et sapientiae suae luce hos ipsos motus optime composito ordine temperare ac dirigere in rectum finem"; I, xvii, 1.

[14] "Iam et hoc addendum est, quamvis aut paternus Dei favor et beneficentia, aut iudicii severitas saepe in toto providentiae cursu reluceat, interdum tamen eorum quae accidunt occultas esse causas, ut obrepat cogitatio, caeco fortunae impetu volvi et rotari

I will return to this theme, for one of the main concerns of the Renaissance was with the nature of fortune and the individual's relationship to it. There were many conceptions of fortune, and Calvin is linked to this historical period by his general interest in this problem rather than by his particular position, which distinguishes him from other figures and movements.

A prior consideration is again epistemological. If, as he argued, human perception has been debilitated by inherited sin, and if the vanity of self-sufficiency has tempted men to make unwarranted inferences from the meager facts in their possession, how can they profess to know the truth, or how can they discover it for themselves? Only, said Calvin, through the *Scripture.*

For if we consider the mutability of the human mind—how easy its lapse into forgetfulness of God; how great its propensity for error of every kind; how violent its rage for the perpetual fabrication of new and false religions—it will be easy to perceive the necessity of heavenly doctrine being thus committed to writing, that it might not be lost in oblivion, or evaporate in error, or be corrupted by the presumption of men.[15]

It has frequently been remarked that the Bibliolatry of Protestantism corresponds to the humanists' adulation of the classical text. There was in Calvin such a veneration for ancient and written doctrine, but he was no idolater. He did not consistently hold to a literal interpretation of the Scripture. He was perhaps more interested in explication and meaning than moved by a desire for simplicity and philological purity such as animated the textual criticism of men like Erasmus and Valla. He considered it demeaning to God to take the tales and superstitions of the Bible at their face value.

The Anthropomorphites also, who imagined God to be corporeal, because the Scripture frequently ascribes to him a mouth, eyes, hands and feet, are easily refuted. For who, even of the meanest capacity, understands not, that God lisps, as it were with us, just as nurses are accustomed to speak with children. Wherefore such forms of expression do not clearly explain the nature of God, but accommodate the knowledge of him to our narrow capacity.[16]

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res humanas; vel ad obloquendum nos caro sollicitet, ac si Deus homines quasi pilas iactando, ludum exerceret"; I, xvii, 1.

[15] "Nam si reputamus quam lubricus sit humanae mentis lapsus in Dei oblivionem, quanta in omne genus erroris proclivitas, quanta ad confingendas identidem novas et fictitias religiones libido; perspicere licebit quam necessaria fuerit talis coelestis doctrinae consignatio, ne vel oblivione deperiret, vel errore evanesceret, vel audacia hominum corrumperetur"; I, vi, 3.

[16] "Anthropomorphitae etiam, qui Deum corporeum ex eo sunt imaginati quod os, aures, oculos, manus et pedes scriptura illi saepe ascribit, facile refutantur. Quis enim, vel parum ingeniosus, non intelligit Deum ita nobiscum, ceu nutrices solent cum infanti-

In keeping with such a principle of "accommodation," Calvin did interpret the Scripture in an extraordinarily critical and rational manner—where he chose to.[17] But it would be misleading to think of this, or him, as anything but religious. How was he or anyone else to know that his interpretations were the truth? Human vanity and stupidity could as easily misinterpret the Scripture as the evidence of God's works in nature. And what determined that men believed in the Scripture at all? In the final analysis, for Calvin truth was accessible only to those who had been illuminated by the Holy Spirit.

> Let it be considered then as an undeniable truth, that they who have been inwardly taught by the Spirit, feel an entire acquiescence in the Scripture, and that it is self-authenticated, carrying with it its own evidence, and ought not to be made the subject of demonstrations and arguments from reason; but it obtains the credit it deserves with us by the testimony of the Spirit. . . . Therefore, being illuminated by him, we now believe the divine original of the Scripture, not from our own judgment or that of others, but we esteem the certainty that we have received it from God's own mouth by the ministry of men to be superior to that of any human judgment, and equal to that of an intuitive perception of God himself in it.[18]

The fact that Calvin was so concerned with epistemological questions is interesting and significant. Ever since the work of the fourteenth-century nominalists, the question of the certainty of knowledge had become almost as important as the content of it. This concern was to remain a constant feature of the history of modern philosophy.

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bus, quodammodo balbutire? Proinde tales loquendi formae non tam ad liquidum exprimunt qualis sit Deus, quam eius notitiam tenuitati nostrae accommodant"; I, xiii, 1. However, Quirinus Breen (*John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism* [Grand Rapids, 1931], 154) argues that he gave "unqualified approval" to the work of Erasmus and Valla even after his preconversion humanist days.

[17] Such a suggestion of a principle of interpretation based on the assumption of a changing and evolving human culture and mentality and an eternal Divine Truth, in which it is the purpose of God to reveal himself according to the capacities of different ages to comprehend him, may well bear further investigation. It contrasts as much with the medieval "figural" mode of exegesis as with humanist philology; cf. Erich Auerbach, "Figura," *Archivum Romanicum,* XXII (1938), 436, and his *Mimesis* (Princeton, 1953), 73–76. Calvin throws further light on his methods, showing that he adds to the notion of "prefiguration" that of "accommodation": "non propterea mutabilem iudicari Deum debere quod diversis saeculis diversas formas accommodaverit, prout cuique expedire noverat" (II, xi, especially 13 and 14). Within the framework of a providential history of mankind, to which he obviously and tenaciously holds, he has introduced a notion of the historical relativism of the divine Word.

[18] "Maneat ergo hoc fixum, quos spiritus sanctus intus docuit, solide acquiescere in scriptura, et hanc quidem esse *αὐτόπιστον*, neque demonstrationi et rationibus subiici eam fas esse; quam tamen meretur apud nos certitudinem, spiritus testimonio consequi. . . . Illius ergo virtute illuminati, iam non aut nostro, aut aliorum iudicio credimus, a Deo esse scripturam; sed supra humanum iudicium, certo certius constituimus (non secus ac si ipsius Dei numen illic intueremur) hominum ministerio, ab ipsissimo Dei ore ad nos fluxisse"; I, vii, 5.

Yet this skepticism was accompanied by an enormous increase in the amount and accuracy of human knowledge. To some it has seemed that the method of doubt was the cornerstone of science. Calvin and Calvinism never truly resolved this question, and it can be seen that it was fundamental to the whole structure of his thought. He asserted at the same time both a drastic devaluation of man's capacity to know and a great and complex doctrine about God, the world, and man. Reliance on the testimony of the Spirit did not overcome the contradiction. And, as is well known, the question of proof has haunted the subsequent history of Calvinism.

It is perhaps of greater relevance in this paper to deal now with the content of Calvin's position, leaving aside the problem of proof. Perhaps the major emphasis of his theology was not merely upon the benevolence, the omniscience, and the omnipotence of God, but also upon his omnioperative character, his constant supervision and control of all events, natural and historical and spiritual, and his wise and rational utilization of all men as instruments of his purpose. It is not enough to make God the Creator of the world, which then runs along according to its appointed laws.

> But faith ought to penetrate further. When it has learned that he is the Creator of all things, it should immediately conclude that he is also their perpetual governor and preserver; and that not by a certain universal motion, actuating the whole machine of the world, and all its respective parts, but by a particular providence sustaining, nourishing and providing for everything which he has made.[19]

In place of the traditional vision of a self-sufficient God, absorbed in self-contemplation, Calvin had a new image of the deity corresponding to the energetic man of affairs of the new economic and political order.

> God asserts his possession of omnipotence and claims our acknowledgment of this attribute; not such as is imagined by sophists, vain, idle and almost asleep, but vigilant, efficacious, operative, and engaged in continual action.[20]

The crucial question is how this view relates to human affairs in his

[19] "At vero fides altius penetrare debet, nempe ut quem omnium creatorem esse didicit, statim quoque perpetuum moderatorem et conservatorem esse colligat; neque id universali quadam motione tam orbis machinam quam singulas eius partes agitando; sed singulari quadam providentia unumquodque eorum quae condidit, ad minimum usque passerem, sustinendo, fovendo, curando"; I, xvi, 1.

[20] "Et sane omnipotentiam sibi vendicat ac deferri a nobis vult Deus, non qualem sophistate fingunt, inanem, otiosam et fere sopitam; sed vigilem, efficacem, operosam, et quae in continuo actu versetur"; I, xvi, 3.

thinking, for it involves both the seemingly accidental nature of historical events that plagued men of his time, which was talked of under the concept of fortune, and the question of the scope of human capacity and action in influencing human destiny or events in general, which was discussed as the problem of free will. It is on these issues that Calvin's relation to the Renaissance may be most clearly seen.

According to Calvin, while some had laid the outcome of human events to fortune, others held that God originally gave men an instinct or natural capacity for reason, and thenceforth men ran their own affairs. Although wishing to refute both views, Calvin conceded that events often seemed fortuitous and that human action "appears to proceed from voluntary inclination in the creature."[21] Particularly in the matter of social status, many "attribute it to human industry, or to fortune, that some men remain in obscurity, and others rise to honours"; nevertheless, in spite of appearances, "it is from the secret counsel of God, that some rise to promotion and others remain in contempt."[22]

Stated thus flatly, Calvin's position of predetermination by God as far as natural and historical events are concerned, predestination and election from eternity as far as salvation, would seem to end matters and stand in patent contradiction to the newer humanistic currents of thought.[23] Calvin, however, did not leave matters there where popular conceptions leave Calvinism. Instead he entered into particulars about the actual operation of his doctrine and contrived to leave the world looking not so very different from the way it appeared to his contemporaries but, to his view, making more sense.

In the first place, if God controlled the world in such minute detail that not a thing could happen apart from his direction, it would seem as though human helplessness would be enormously increased. Calvin, however, was no friend of sloth and, admiring the industrious, wished no such consequence. To his mind it was not the fact of divine providence but man's uncertainty about the real state of affairs that

[21] *Ibid.*, I, xvi, 4.

[22] ". . . industriae hominum vel fortunae adscribunt quod alii iacent in sordibus, alii ad honores emergunt . . . arcano eius consilio alios excellere, alios manere contemptibiles"; I, xvi, 6.

[23] Of course it is an exaggeration to think of any one humanist point of view on such matters. Opinion ranged from Valla's inability to resolve the logical contradiction between predestination and free will, to the optimistic affirmations of moral freedom by Pico or Erasmus. There probably was a unity, however, on the desirability of free will, whatever difficulties seemed to confront it. Cf. my paper on "The Problem of Free Will," cited in n. 4, above.

paralyzed him. He was, therefore, careful to try to save and explain the phenomena of both free will and fortune, although denying the ultimate reality of those forces.

First he sought to show how fortune could properly be understood without men being reduced to inactivity by the seeming chaos of events.

Yet since the dullness of our minds is very much below the sublimity of the divine providence, let us endeavor to assist them by a distinction. I say that notwithstanding the ordination of all things by a certain purpose and direction of God, yet to us they are fortuitous: not that we suppose fortune holds any domination over the world and mankind, and whirls all things about at random, for such folly ought to be far from the breast of a Christian; but because the order, reason, end and necessity of events are chiefly concealed in the purpose of God, and not comprehended by the mind of man, those things are in some measure fortuitous, which must certainly happen according to the divine will.[24]

Such a doctrine did not need to discourage men. In fact they could now feel assured of wisdom and order behind the seeming work of fortune.

The appearance of free will also had to be recognized, because there was a grave danger that if all events were known to be divinely ordered, men would cease to act. This was not a mere juxtaposition of opposing concepts by Calvin, nor a mere pious admonition. For him free will was itself an instrument of providence. Doctrinally, his position was clear, detailed, and explicit. Many men argued as follows:

"If God has fixed the moment of our death, we cannot avoid it; therefore all caution against it will be but labor lost." Men, however, took certain precautions.

And men in general exert all their faculties in devising and executing methods by which they may obtain the object of their desires. Now either all these things are vain remedies employed to correct the will of God, or life and death, health and disease, peace and war, and other things which, according to their desires and their aversions, men industriously study to obtain or avoid, are not determined by his certain decree. . . . In short they supersede all deliberations respecting futurity, as opposed to the providence of God, who without con-

[24] "Quoniam tamen longe infra providentiae Dei altitudinem subsidit mentis nostrae tarditas, adhibenda est quae eam sublevet distinctio. Dicam igitur, utcunque ordinentur omnia Dei consilio certa dispensatione, nobis tamen esse fortuita. Non quod fortunam reputemus mundo ac hominibus dominari, temereque omnia sursum deorsum volutare (abesse enim a christiano pectore decet hanc vecordiam); sed quoniam eorum quae eveniunt, ordo, ratio, finis, necessitas, ut plurimum in Dei consilio latet, et humana opinione non apprehenditur, quasi fortuita sunt, quae certum est ex Dei voluntate provenire"; I, xvi, 9.

sulting men has decreed whatever he pleased. And what has already happened they impute to the divine providence in such a manner as to overlook the person who is known to have committed any particular act. Has an assassin murdered a worthy citizen? they say he has executed the counsel of God. . . . Thus by these persons all crimes are denominated virtues, because they are subservient to the ordination of God.[25]

Calvin here has anticipated the stock argument against his doctrine. But he is willing to give up neither divine providence nor human responsibility.

In opposition to this argument Calvin urged the greatest exercise of prudence and intelligence in the conduct of life as a duty in keeping with the very nature of providence. Here is how he reconciled his rationalism with his deprivation of men of the determination of their destinies:

He who has fixed the limits of our life, has also entrusted us with the care of it; has furnished us with means and supplies for its preservation; has also made us provident of dangers; and that they may not oppress us unawares, has furnished us with cautions and remedies. Now it is evident what is our duty. If God has committed to us the preservation of our life, we should preserve it; if he offers supplies, we should use them; if he forewarns of dangers, we should not rush rashly into them; if he furnishes remedies, we ought not to neglect them.

Indeed, the measures men took were themselves part of providence, and it became their pious duty to God to exert themselves prudently.

You conclude that it is unnecessary to guard against danger, because if it be not fatal, we shall escape it without caution; but on the contrary the Lord enjoins you to use caution, because he intends it not to be fatal to you. These madmen overlook what is obvious to every observer—that the arts of deliberation and caution in men proceed from the inspiration of God, and that they subserve the designs of his providence in the preservation of their own lives; as on the contrary, by neglect and slothfulness, they procure for themselves the evils which he has appointed for them. For how does it happen that a prudent man, consulting his own welfare, averts from himself impending evils, and a fool

[25] "Si mortis nostrae punctum signavit Dominus, effugere non licet: frustra igitur in cautionibus adhibendis laboratur. . . . omnes denique vias excogitant, et magna animi intentione excudunt, quibus id quod concupiscunt assequantur: aut haec omnia inania sunt remedia, quae captantur ad corrigendam Dei voluntatem, aut non certo eius decreto terminantur vita et mors, sanitas et morbus, pax et bellum, et alia quae homines, prout vel appetunt vel oderunt, ita sua industria vel obtinere vel refugere student. . . . In summa, omnia quae in posterum capiuntur consilia tollunt, perinde ac Dei providentiae adversa, quae, illis non advocatis, quid fieri vellet decrevit. Deinde quidquid iam accidit, ita providentiae Dei imputant, ut conniveant ad hominem, quem id ipsum designasse constet. Occidit sicarius probum civem? exsequutus est, inquiunt, consilium Dei. . . . Ita flagitia omnia virtutes vocant quia Dei ordinationi obsequantur"; I, xvii, 3.

is ruined by his inconsiderate temerity, unless folly and prudence are in both cases instruments of the divine dispensation? Therefore it has pleased God to conceal from us all future events that we may meet them as doubtful contingencies, and not fail to oppose to them the remedies with which we are provided, till they shall have been surmounted or shall have overcome all our diligence.[26]

While this point of view may not be entirely convincing to us, to Calvin it ended the old conflict between free will and fortune that had been so particularly on the minds of Renaissance writers (e.g., Machiavelli). Both were vindicated as part of the providence of God. Man was incited by this doctrine to oppose his free will (or virtù) to fortune as part of the divine work; and he was not to be discouraged when his efforts failed, as this was also part of the action of his busy God. Neither God nor man might anymore be slothful.

This was a new ideal of human status. God, in so far as he was conceived in the image of the elite of society, had been thought of as passively contemplative, enjoying his leisure, or as a military commander at the head of the hosts of the righteous, or in other roles. To Calvin, God was an artist, or an architect; but most characteristically for him, a busy God worked through busy men, who by their activity improved their position in the world as far as this corresponded to the divine project, and by this means furthered and cast glory upon that project.

Calvin did not feel that this point of view was contrary to human needs and feelings. Understanding that the course of human events, as well as of nature, was predetermined in accordance with divine wisdom and justice, men should derive certain advantages from this. In the first place they would attribute all prosperity to God and take it as a sign of divine benediction. Secondly, calamities, whether due to

[26] "Namque is qui vitam nostram suis terminis limitavit, eius simul curam apud nos deposuit, eius conservandae rationibus subsidiisque instruxit, periculorum quoque praescios fecit, ne incautos opprimerent, cautiones ac remedias suggessit. Nunc perspicuum est quid sit nostri officii: nempe, si vitam nobis nostram tutandam commisit Dominus, ut eam tueamur; si subsidia offert, ut iis utamur; si pericula praemonstrat, ne temere irruamus; si remedia suppeditat, ne negligamus. . . . Tu cavendum non esse periculum colligis, quia, fatale quum non sit, simus etiam citra cautionem evasuri: Dominus autem ideo ut caveas iniungit, quia fatale tibi esse noluit. Non expendunt insani isti quod est sub oculis, consultandi cavendique artes inspiratas hominibus esse a Domino, quibus providentiae eius subserviant, in vitae propriae conservatione. Quemadmodum contra neglectu et socordia, quae illis iniunxit mala, sibi accersunt. Qui fit enim ut vir providus, dum sibi consulit, imminentibus etiam malis se explicet, stultus inconsulta temeritate pereat, nisi quod et stultitia et prudentia divinae sunt dispensationis instrumenta in utramque partem? Ideo nos celare futura omnia voluit Deus, ut tanquam dubiis occurramus, neque desinamus parata remedia opponere, donec aut superata fuerint, aut omnem curam superaverint"; I, xvii, 4.

human or natural action, were also from God. Basically men would simultaneously make use of all human and material aids for their benefit that they were able to, and would take responsibility for their own crimes and failures.

He will rank it among the blessings of the Lord, not to be destitute of human aids which he may use for his own safety; he will neither be remiss in taking advice, therefore, nor negligent in imploring the help of those whom he perceives to be capable of affording him assistance; but considering all creatures that can in any respect be serviceable to him, as so many gifts from the Lord, he will use them as legitimate instruments of the divine providence. And as he is uncertain respecting the issue of his undertakings, except that he knows that the Lord will in all things provide for his good, he studiously aims at what, according to the best judgment he can form, will be for his advantage. Nor in conducting his deliberations, will he be carried away by his own opinion, but will recommend and resign himself to the wisdom of God, that he may be directed to the right end. But he will not place his confidence in external helps to such a degree as, if possessed of them, securely to rely on them, or if destitute of them, to tremble with despair.[27]

Trust in divine providence, instead of limiting man in his pursuit of worldly goals, should, according to Calvin, strengthen his confidence in his own powers, so long as he recognized that they came from the Lord. Man also should not be ashamed to seek his own advantage, as this was again in furtherance of the divine purpose. Fortune, good or bad, was no longer indifferent to the merits of the action—divinely viewed, of course—but the very consequence of them.

On the other hand, it should not be imagined that Calvin had a very rosy view of the external conditions of his time. In the face of the widespread misery and calamity, his doctrine, he claimed, also offered a valuable psychological reward.

Amidst these difficulties must not man be most miserable, who is half-dead while he lives, and is dispirited and alarmed as though he had a sword per-

[27] "Nam inter Domini benedictiones reponet, si non destituetur subsidiis humanis, quibus ad incolumitatem suam utatur; itaque nec in capiendis consiliis cessabit, nec torpebit in ope eorum imploranda, quibus suppetere conspiciet unde iuvetur; sed a Domino sibi in manum offerri reputans quaecunque commodare sibi aliquid possunt creaturae, ipsas, tanquam legitima divinae providentiae instrumenta, ad usum applicabit. Ac, quum incertus sit quem sint exitum habitura quae negotia aggreditur (nisi quod in omnibus Dominum suo bono prospecturum novit) ad id studio aspirabit quod sibi expedire ducet, quantum intelligentia menteque assequi potest. Neque tamen in capiendis consiliis proprio sensu feretur; sed Dei sapientiae se commendabit ac permittet, ut eius ductu in rectum scopum dirigatur. Caeterum non in externis subsidiis ita eius fiducia subnitetur, ut si adsint in iis secure acquiescat; si desint, perinde ac destitutus trepidet"; I, xvii, 9.

petually applied to his neck? . . . What can you imagine more calamitous than such a dread?[28]

This anxiety-ridden state of mind, arising out of the social and political disorders of his times—the wars, pestilences, civil disturbances, economic overturns, and social oppressions—could not be overcome by attributing these occurrences to fortune and seeking to defy it or to flee to the green hills. Calvin's doctrine alone might prevent demoralization.

> On the contrary, when this light of divine providence has once shined on a pious man, he is relieved and delivered not only from extreme anxiety and dread with which he was previously oppressed, but also from all care. For, as he justly dreads fortune, so he ventures to commit himself to God. . . . How is it that their security remains unshaken, while the world appears to be revolving at random, but because they know that the Lord is universally operative, and confide in his operations as beneficial to them.[29]

In short, "ignorance of providence is the greatest of miseries, but the knowledge of it is attended with the highest felicity."[29]

When Calvin turned from his vindication of the divine providence in Book I of the *Institutes* to his depiction of the state and nature of fallen man in Book II, he was notoriously contemptuous of man. Despite his deprecation, however, he did not deprive man of an ability to control human affairs and to direct the course of nature through science. He thought of man as deprived of free will and thoroughly corrupted morally by the Fall of Adam. But what is frequently overlooked is that he meant this lack of free will to apply primarily to man's ability to determine his spiritual condition. Man could not save himself no matter how hard he tried; and moral virtue carried with it no merit toward justification and salvation, since the latter were predestined from eternity. It is significant, however, that in fact Calvin recognized the capacities of man in secular and social matters, though he denied them in spiritual things. Such spiritual abilities as leading a happy life or loving one's neighbor

[28] "Inter has angustias annon oportet miserrimum esse hominem, utpote qui in vita semivivus anxium et languidum spiritum aegre trahat, non secus ac si imminentem perpetuo cervicibus gladium haberet? . . . Tali ergo trepidatione quid calamitosius fingas?" I, xvii, 10.

[29] "At ubi lux illa divinae providentiae semel homini pio affulsit, iam non extrema modo, qua ante premebatur, anxietate et formidine, sed omni cura relevatur ac solvitur. Ut enim merito fortunam horret, ita secure Deo sese audet permittere. . . . Unde id quaeso habent, quod illis nunquam excutitur sua securitas, nisi quia, ubi temere mundus volutari in speciem videtur, Dominum ibique operari sciunt, cuius opus confidunt sibi fore salutare? . . . extremum esse omnium miseriarum, providentiae ignorationem; summam beatitudinem in eiusdem cognitione esse sitam"; I, xvii, 11.

were dissociated by Calvin from the more egoistic talents of the understanding and will.

Free will with regard to spiritual matters was totally annihilated by the Fall. Man was

exiled from the kingdom of God in such a manner that all the affections relating to the happy life of the soul are also extinguished in him, till he recovers them by the grace of regeneration. Such are faith, love to God, charity towards our neighbors and an attachment to holiness and righteousness. All these things being restored by Christ, are esteemed adventitious and preternatural; and therefore we conclude that all have been lost.[30]

As for men's natural capacities, Calvin was able to have it two ways. On the one hand, they were debilitated and corrupted, thereby allowing him to account for human inadequacies and failures in the practical and speculative realms. At the same time, however, men retained some of their original powers, thereby showing his recognition of the obvious capacities of men. Calvin made it clear that he felt men did retain very great rational powers. He described the vanity of the intellect and its overcurious pursuit of the fruitless and the unimportant, its lack of judgment. Yet, he conceded, it was capable of making discoveries about inferior matters and even had some slight sense of superior things. To make his position clear he felt that

it will be useful for us to propose the following distinction; that there is one understanding for terrestrial things, and another for celestial ones. . . . In the first class are included civil polity, domestic economy, all the mechanical arts and liberal sciences; in the second the knowledge of God and of the divine will and the rules for conformity to it in our lives.[31]

[30] "Unde sequitur, ita exsulare a regno Dei, ut quaecunque ad beatam animae vitam spectant, in eo exstincta sunt, donec per regenerationis gratiam ipsa recuperet. In his sunt, fides, amor Dei, caritas erga proximos, sanctitatis et iustitiae studium. Haec omnia quum nobis restituat Christus, adventitia censentur, et praeter naturam; ideoque fuisse abolita colligimus"; II, ii, 12.

[31] " . . . distinctionem nobis proponere operae pretium est. Sit ergo haec distinctio, esse aliam quidem rerum terrenarum intelligentiam, aliam vero coelestium. . . . In priore genere sunt politia, oeconomia, artes omnes mechanicae, disciplinaeque liberales. In secundo, Dei ac divinae voluntatis cognitio, et vitae secundum eam formandae regula. . . . naturali quoque instinctu, ad fovendam conservandamque eam societatem propendet. . . . Hinc ille perpetuus tam gentium omnium, quam singulorum mortalium in leges consensus. . . . Manet tamen illud, inspersum esse universis semen aliquod ordinis politici"; II, ii, 13. I have included in this note the passages cited in my next paragraph also. Breen, *op. cit.*, 159–61, cited this and paragraphs 12 and 15 to demonstrate "The Precipitate of Humanism in Calvin the Reformer" (chap. 7); and François Wendel, *Calvin, Sources et Évolution de sa Pensée Religieuse* (Paris, 1950), comments, p. 143, "L'humaniste que continnuait à sommeiller en lui se réveille soudain a notre surprise" and, p. 155, in reference to the surviving "seeds" of justice, "Il y a là, n'en doutons pas, un souvenir très net de l'idée stoicienne d'une unité organique de la

In what concerned the area of human affairs, Calvin found all men endowed with an "instinctive propensity to cherish and preserve" society, which took the form of a "perpetual consent of all nations, as well as all individuals, to the laws." Even criminals consented with their minds, although their passions were too powerful to restrain them; others who were critical of injustice in the laws recognized a higher law in equity. "Yet it is certainly true that some seeds of political order are sown in the minds of all." No doubt his early study of civil law and his youthful commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*[32] had sown seeds of admiration for political justice in Calvin's mind.

In his admiration of man's mental and manual facilities, he rejected the Platonic theory of the recollection of ideas from a previous existence in favor of a theory of invention and intellectual progress.

> Scarcely an individual can be found whose sagacity does not assert itself in some particular art. Nor have they an energy and facility only in learning, but also in inventing something new in every art, or in amplifying and improving what they have learned from their predecessors.[33]

Because these capacities were unequally distributed to men, it was clear to Calvin that they were the gift of the Spirit both to mankind generally and to some individuals in more specific ways.

> But whereas some excel in penetration, others possess superior judgment, and others have a greater aptitude to learn this or that art; in this variety God displays his goodness toward us, that no one may arrogate to himself as his own what proceeds merely from divine liberality. . . . God inspires particular motions according to the vocation of each individual.[34]

The importance of Calvin's doctrine of vocation, beyond the fact that it gave a religious sanction to the existing division of labor, lies in the stress he placed upon the individual's duty to carry out his special abilities effectively. In this way each man would actually be

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societé humaine." Cf. also Josef Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin* (Graz, 1950), 383–95. Calvin's clearest praise of the ancients is in II, ii, 15: "Imo ne sine ingenti quidem admiratione veterum scripta legere de his rebus poterimus; admirabimur autem, quia praeclara, ut sunt, cogemur agnoscere!"

[32] Breen, *op. cit.*, chaps. 3, 4, 5; Wendel, *op. cit.*, 8–20; Bohatec, *op. cit.*, 439–64.

[33] "Nemo prope reperitur cuius in arte aliqua perspicientia non se exserat. Neque sola suppetit ad discendum energia et facilitas, sed ad excogitandum in unaquaque arte novum aliquid, vel amplificandum et expoliendum quod alio praeeunte didiceris"; II, ii, 14.

[34] "Quod autem alii praestant acumine, alii iudicio superant, aliis mens agilior est ad hanc vel illam artem discendam, in hac varietate gratiam suam nobis commendat Deus, ne sibi quisquam velut proprium arroget, quod ex mera illius liberalitate fluit. . . . Adde quod singulares motus pro cuiusque vocatione Deus instillat"; II, ii, 17.

working for the objective social interest and thus fulfilling a divine mandate. At the same time failure to use his abilities well would penalize the individual in regard to his own material existence—betokening God's punishment of his negligence.

In this way Calvin made an important distinction between the general work of the Spirit operating through all men for the objective furtherance of the divine scheme, and the special work of the Spirit in justifying certain men only for salvation. The doctrine of *vocation* applied to all men, because the rewards and penalties for successful or inadequate application of one's endowments by the Spirit were all of this world. The doctrine of *election* applied only to the "saints." These gifts of vocation were, nevertheless, an essential part of God's objective mandate and plan. As such they should not be spurned by the pious.

Yet let us not forget that these are most excellent gifts of the Spirit, which for the common benefit of mankind he dispenses to whomsoever he pleases. . . . Nor is there any reason for inquiring what intercourse with the Spirit is enjoyed by the impious who are entirely alienated from God. For when the Spirit of God is said to dwell in the faithful only, that is to be understood of the Spirit of sanctification, by whom we are consecrated as temples to God himself. Yet it is equally by the energy of the same Spirit, that God replenishes, actuates, and quickens all creatures, and that according to the property of each species which he has given it by the law of creation. Now if it has pleased the Lord that we should be assisted in physics, logic, mathematics, and other arts and sciences, by the labor and ministry of the impious, let us make use of them; lest if we neglect to use the blessings therein freely offered to us by God, we suffer the just punishment of our negligence. But, lest anyone should suppose a man to be truly happy, when he is admitted to possess such powerful energies for discovering the truth relating to the elements of this world, it must likewise be added, that all the faculty of understanding, and the understanding which is the consequence of it, is in the sight of God, a fleeting and transitory thing, where there is not a solid foundation of truth.[35]

[35] "Neque tamen interim obliviscamur haec praestantissima divini spiritus esse bona, quae in publicum generis humani bonum, quibus vult, dispensat. . . . Neque est cur roget quispiam, quidnam cum spiritu commercii impiis, qui sunt a Deo prorsus alieni? Nam quod dicitur spiritus Dei in solis fidelibus habitare, id intelligendum de spiritu sanctificationis, per quem Deo ipsi in templa consecramur. Neque tamen ideo minus replet, movet, vegetat omnia eiusdem spiritus virtute, idque secundum uniuscuiusque generis proprietatem, quam ei creationis lege attribuit. Quod si nos Dominus impiorum opera et ministerio, in physicis, dialecticis, mathematicis et reliquis id genus voluit adiutos, ea utamur; ne si Dei dona ultro in ipsis oblata negligamus, demus iustas ignaviae nostrae poenas. At vero, ne quis hominem valde beatum putet, quum sub elementis huius mundi tanta veritatis comprehendendae energia illi conceditur; simul addendum est, totam istam, et intelligendi vim, et intelligentiam quae inde consequitur, rem esse fluxam et evanidum coram Deo, ubi non subest solidum veritatis fundamentum"; II, ii, 16.

In this passage Calvin has expressed a very complicated attitude. He gives a support to worldiness which at the same time subordinates it to providence, and a subordination of worldiness to divine purposes which simultaneously appreciates the objective results of human activity and discounts its ultimate meaning. This ambivalent attitude corresponds very closely to the joyless pursuit of knowledge and material wealth which seemed to be incumbent on all men but yielded no deep satisfactions because of its perils, uncertainty, and, even more, lack of a clear relationship to human spiritual happiness. This was not the mood of much of the Renaissance, but it was the mood of a good many humanists and of other sensitive men of the time. And it was to this dour tone that Calvinism appealed.[36]

Calvin was, perhaps, correct in feeling that such a worldly activity could lead men away from their spiritual fulfillment, and in recognizing that it was at the same time not directly or necessarily opposed to man's highest potentialities. Such a divorce between spiritual development and economic or technical progress was a cultural condition that many writers had commented on since the early fourteenth century. Calvin theologized it into the objective work of the divine mandate. What it came to with him was a plea to accept the existing stage of human development as the final and inscrutable work of God.

By his theory of a twofold human understanding Calvin contributed to a process of externalization of human motives. This very simply means exactly what he was preaching—that man by his own efforts in science and material activities had some possibility of realizing limited worldly goals, but none at all of achieving moral and spiritual ends. Calvin was, of course, very critical of the debasement of man involved in this condition, but at the same time he could not help reinforcing it by regarding it as the just punishment of man's sins and by excluding the possibility of other conditions.

Calvin sought to restore an integrity between motivation and action. He was particularly acute in seeing that the existing separation between internal intentions and external actions was in many ways more apparent than real. But his acuteness of perception could not

[36] Breen makes much of the positive aspects of Calvin's doctrine of "common grace" as a bond linking him to the humanists (*op. cit.*, 159). He does, however, subject secular capacities to providence and makes it a pious duty to cultivate them. I have analyzed the prevalence of a pessimistic note in some of the humanists in my *Adversity's Noblemen* (New York, 1940) and have emphasized a similar concern about the relation of vocation to happiness in "Petrarch's Views of the Individual and His Society," *Osiris*, XI (1954), 168–98. Wendel indicates that one of Calvin's purposes in depicting the capacities and insights of the impious was to prove that men were without excuse for their sins, since they had a knowledge of good and evil (*op. cit.*, 155).

change the contradictions, so that he was driven to more radical conclusions about the moral capacities of human nature than those of most previous thinkers concerned with this problem. The latter, including many humanists, were content to recognize a separation between the subjective and objective spheres of life and tended to look either for an exclusively subjective fulfillment or for moral reform of the external sphere.

Calvin, in effect, restored a negative integrity by arguing that neither in action nor in motivation was man in effective control over himself. He was corrupt internally and externally, although capable in a spiritually neutral way externally. It is important to suggest that for many of his contemporaries this condition was a vivid part of their experience of life. If this was so, Calvin's denial of free will had a great deal more plausibility for these men than it does for our own more easily offended moral sensibilities.

Calvin went much further in his discussion of this question in the remaining part of Book II of the *Institutes,* where he took up the inner spiritual and psychological side of man in great detail, and in Book III, where he discoursed on how within the framework of his theology a Christian might piously conduct his life. Enough has been said, however, to indicate the essentials of his position on the nature and life of man.

In summary, Calvin was concerned with several closely connected questions that might be considered "Renaissance Problems," namely: (a) the epistemological question of the relation of subjective perception to objective truth, (b) the related question of man and the universe—*microcosmos* and *cosmos*—(c) the question of the fortuitous or providential character of events, and (d) the question of man's free will.

Professor Battenhouse has shown that Calvin in his notion of the original condition of man before the Fall derived his ideas from the Platonists' high estimates of the spiritual potentialities of human nature.[37] I have tried to show how even in his conception of fallen man Calvin also shared the high regard of the Renaissance for man's capacities in the practical and intellectual spheres. Where he differed from his contemporaries, and particularly from the humanists, was in completely abandoning any hope for the spiritual or moral regeneration of mankind by its own efforts, and in believing that the small minority of the Elect, alone, for some inscrutable reason of God's were decreed from eternity for justification. And they, too, for

[37] *Op. cit.,* 454–55.

all that, were merely actors in a cosmic drama in the theater of the world. As Professor Battenhouse has pointed out,[38] this image also was shared with the neoplatonists, and it was constantly utilized by Shakespeare. But in all these others, and in most of the humanists, there was a concern for mere man, and a tragic sorrow at his plight that is hard to find in the more realistic, more logical, and harsher theology of Calvin.

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[38] *Ibid.*, 463–65.

The Study of the Hebrew Bible in Sixteenth-Century Italy[1]

WHEN ONE THINKS of the vast scholarship in the Christian world that has developed during the last four hundred years in the field of Semitic languages and culture, one may feel that it is highly proper to speak of a Hebrew Renaissance along with the Latin and Greek Renaissance. This term may not be taken to imply a very sudden awakening of interest and establishment of critical apparatus; it is nearer to the Latin revival than to the Greek, since Hebrew—though not so much on the surface as Latin—had been known to Christian scholars and studied by them, even if not in a formal grammatical sense, throughout the preceding centuries.[2] Now however, men will work on the biblical and Hebrew materials with the objective freedom of intellectual inquiry and with an historical and philological exactitude hitherto unknown.

In earlier centuries Hebrew had been taken up by Christians mainly for apologetic and missionary purposes which were now to decline before the growing academic and cultural interest. For long a cause of contention between Jews and Christians, the knowledge of Hebrew and the interpretation of the Scriptures were soon to be made the object of acrimonious theological dispute between Catholics and Protestants. But the formal and accepted systems of exegesis did not contain and could not provide the materials which would be commensurate with the wider interest in cultural learning and the rising critical inquiry, and scholars soon began to realize that to find the inner significance of the Scriptures they must work out scientific equipment as to words, grammar, and historical meaning.

One may ask why the subject of the Cabala as a stimulus to the study of Hebrew should not be treated here at length. Cabalistic lore held a considerable, though for the most part a short-lived, fascination for Renaissance Platonists. In the medley of thought that existed in the south of Europe, such mystical speculation found a fertile and receptive soil, if only to prove the truth and superiority of the Christian faith. Pico della Mirandola, Galatinus, and Johannes

[1] This paper was read, under the title "The Renaissance of the Bible—Beginnings of Semitic Studies in Italy," at the South-Central Renaissance Conference at Fayetteville, Arkansas, May 8, 1954.

[2] Cf., among other monographs: Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1941); Ludwig Diestel, *Die Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der Christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869), and Wilhelm Bacher, *Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Trier, 1892).

Reuchlin may exemplify this wide though essentially unscientific interest. The occupation with this lore was, however, to provide no lasting contribution.[3]

If one, then, seems to see the emergence of a biblical-Hebraic interest in the late quattrocento as a renaissance, it might be explained historically as any revival is explained: a bringing into active use of forces and materials that had lain dormant and had not occupied a major place in the immediate past. In its early stages it meant that the work to be done was essentially of a philological nature, and it had to be accomplished in a way which would seem singularly and almost exclusively academic: to provide the grammatical and lexical apparatus for an understanding of biblical Hebrew. This knowledge would then open up the appreciation of a literature of a people for more than a thousand years, a literature containing law, poetry, oration, drama, lamentations, and also accounts of lands and races and many other significant data. Soon this field of study would become so vast that specialists would appear, and at the same time this enlargement would make the field rich in information. Occupation in this area would not end in apparatus for its own sake, but these subjects—such as comparative linguistics or geography—would emerge as separate disciplines and thus become the objects of critical inquiry, removed from their original religio-theological frame of reference.[4]

During the later Middle Ages there had been in the north of Europe a deepening knowledge and wide exegetical study of the Bible. As yet the Christian exegete and even translator knew very little about the grammatical science of Hebrew, the whole field of etymology, syntax, and literary style. In the Mediterranean world, however, since the eleventh century Jewish scholars had developed Hebrew philology as a discipline separate from exegesis as such. This science of grammar did not come into the purview of Christian Hebraists until the age of the critical period after 1400, a fact which suggests another kind of co-ordination with the Latin Renaissance.

[3] Joseph Leon Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York, 1944). See also the recent article by Wm. J. Bouwsma, "Postel and the Significance of Renaissance Cabalism," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XV (1954).

[4] Of the many studies in this field, this writer wishes to call attention to Ludwig Geiger, *Das Studium der hebr. Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des 15. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1870); H. Hirschfeld, *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers* (Oxford, 1926); Otto Kluge, "Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus," *Zeitschrift für die Geschicte des Judentums in Deutschland,* III (1931), 81–97, 180–93; IV (1932), 100–129; Frank Rosenthal, "The Rise of Christian Hebraism in the Sixteenth Century," *Historia Judaica,* VII (1945), 167–91; pertinent articles in the various encyclopedias, and the indispensable Moritz Steinschneider, *Bibliographisches Handbuch über die Theoretische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde,* 2d ed. (Jerusalem, 1937).

Then men desired to study Hebrew according to the same standards and with the same fullness as Latin and Greek, not merely as an apparatus for a better understanding of the Scriptures. The Hebrew tongue came to be a field of rich and interesting knowledge as one of the three historic languages of the West.

The land that was in the most favorable position to become the first center of academic activities in Hebrew studies was Italy. Here was the place where the learning of Arabic-Spanish Jewry could be made available to the Christian scholar of the North.

Since the days of imperial Rome and throughout the Middle Ages, Jews had been living in Rome and in the rest of Italy.[5] They formed an integral part of Mediterranean maritime trade and science and were active as physicians, scholars, transmitters and translators of non-Latin thought. For a century and a half this activity continued and was even strengthened when the Iberian rulers expelled their Jewish subjects and suppressed free thought and independent scholarship in their realms. It is noteworthy that a considerable number of these Spanish and Portuguese refugees found more or less temporary dwelling places all over Italy, in Ferrara, Venice, Naples, and Rome. Above all, in the larger centers of culture, Italian Jews enjoyed social and intellectual equality with their Christian neighbors; they took an active part in the general cultural movement which we usually designate the Renaissance and rise of humanism.

A second major factor in the rapid rise of Hebraic learning was the development and spread of the art of Hebrew printing.[6] Until approximately 1480, Hebrew manuscripts had been hard to obtain and very expensive, but from then on both Jewish and Christian printers—for several decades primarily in Italian cities—provided the European market with Hebrew apparatus, biblical texts, and post-biblical, Rabbinic literature. Some one hundred fifty titles of Hebrew incunabula, originating in sixteen different printing houses, have been identified. The most famous of these early printers was Gerson Soncino, credited with some fifty of the titles. The selection of these books

[5] See Cecil Roth, *History of Jews in Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946). Among the outstanding Jews of Italy of this period we might mention Elia del Medigo (1463–1497), the teacher of Pico della Mirandola; Abraham de Balmes (d. 1523), physician, philosopher, and translator; Leo Hebraeus (d. 1535), author of the *Dialoghi di Amore*.

[6] The story of Hebrew printing is told in D. W. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (Philadelphia, 1909); cf. also articles by A. Freimann, A. Marx & Josh. Bloch. Of great value is Alexander Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York, 1944).

—prayer books, Bibles, legal treatises, moral literature—leaves no doubt that they were intended for the Jewish market. When Daniel Bomberg (d. 1549) opened his establishment in Venice shortly after 1510, he began to supply not only the reading needs of his Jewish clientele, but also some of the most important tools for the scientific study of Hebrew.

The first great work published by Bomberg was the Rabbinic Bible (MIKRAOTH GEDALOTH), the complete Hebrew text of the Old Testament with the Aramaic Targums, critical notes, and several commentaries. The convert Felice da Prato (Felix Pratensis) was chosen as editor of this 1517–18 edition, but when Bomberg decided upon a second printing, he selected a Jewish scholar, Jacob b. Hayyim ibn Adoniyah of Tunis, to serve in Prato's place. May we assume that the convert was so offensive to the Jewish public that Bomberg could not afford to employ his services again? After this one experience with a convert, Bomberg took care to select as his editors only Jewish men with great reputations, such as a judge of the Jewish court of Venice, a famous physician and philosopher, and ultimately the grammarian Elias Levita, respected by both Jew and Christian.[7]

This second edition of the Rabbinic Bible (1525) was reprinted with minor changes in 1546–48, and again by Johannes Buxtorf at Basel in 1618–19; it has provided the pattern for all later Jewish as well as Christian editions of the Old Testament.

As early as 1520 Bomberg began work leading towards the editio princeps of the Babylonian Talmud, and its fifteen volumes were completed in 1523. For this epoch-making achievement (Bomberg's Jewish predecessor Soncino had published only small portions of the codex) our printer obtained the Pope's permission, and this in spite of the recent controversy between Johannes Reuchlin and the Dominicans of Cologne, in which the Talmud had become the symbol of free thought and of opposition to intolerance.[8] Bomberg's fifteen printings of grammars and dictionaries, for both Hebrew and Talmudic Aramaic, were gladly accepted by Christian and Jewish students everywhere. Even as late as the 1520's Reuchlin, while teaching at Tübingen, and Melanchthon at Wittenberg, would order Hebrew texts from Italy for the use of their pupils.

The famous Aldus Manutius deserves credit for the publication of a small duodecimo Hebrew grammar, *Introductio Utillissima He-*

[7] Amram, *op. cit.*, 146 ff., and Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien* (Munich, 1884), 209 ff.

[8] Ludwig Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1871), 205 ff., and Amram, *op. cit.*, 158 ff.

braice Discere Cupientibus, which appeared in 1500 as an addition to his Greek and Latin manuals. This, the first printed Hebrew grammar intended for Christian students, contains the alphabet, the vowel-points, the method of reading, and translations into Hebrew of several Latin prayers like the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria. Of this opusculum the late Professor Alexander Marx identified some twenty-one editions, both in Italy and Germany, before 1520.[9]

The honor to be called the Hebrew teacher of sixteenth-century Christians belongs to Elias Levita (Elia ben Asher Levita, vulgo BAHUR), a German Jew who spent most of his adult life in the freer atmosphere of Italy.[10] Until 1509 he is known to have taught in Padua; then in 1512 he went to Rome, where he lived as teacher and friend in the house of Cardinal Egidio de Viterbo. It appears that the cardinal wanted to know Hebrew so that he could engage in independent cabalistic studies; Levita instructed him in this language while Egidio, in turn, taught him Greek. To enable Levita to print his various books and treatises, Pope Leo X authorized the establishment of a Hebrew press in Rome. We may assume that these years in Rome were Levita's happiest period. They were spent in strenuous and unceasing labor, from which came most of his published and unpublished works. Like many other scholars, he had the great misfortune of losing all his manuscripts and books during the 1527 Sack of Rome. From 1529 until his death in 1549, except for a few years spent with Paul Fagius in southern Germany, Levita made his home in Venice.

It is not too much to say that if Christians have been pre-eminent in Hebrew studies since the sixteenth century it was largely due to the fact that Levita provided the essential primary materials in Hebrew which his students then translated and re-edited in Latin. In addition to Cardinal Egidio, the most prominent of his disciples, Paulus Fagius of Isny and Sebastian Münster of Basel made Levita's works available to Christians through their Latin translations and annotations.[11] We may also count among his students men such as Dr. Johannes Eck, the Dutch humanist Johannes van Campen, and Georges de Selve, bishop of Lavoure. Upon the latter's recommen-

[9] Marx, *op. cit.,* 307 ff., and Steinschneider, *Handbuch,* no. 110.

[10] J. Levi, *Elia Levita und seine Leistungen als Grammatiker* (Breslau, 1888) is a sound biography of the scholar. Additional data on his life and work are also found in Bacher, Geiger, Kluge (see nn. 2 and 4 above) as well as the pertinent articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* etc.

[11] On Fagius and Münster see Rosenthal, *Hist. Judaica,* VII (1945), 181–91.

dation Francis I offered the Hebrew chair at the Collège de France to Levita, but, close to eighty years of age, he declined this honorable invitation.

Levita felt it was his task to prepare sound grammars and textbooks for Hebrew and Aramaic. On the one hand, the apparatus then available was too elementary to be used advantageously by adult students already well versed in Latin and Greek;[12] on the other hand, David Kimhi's MIHLOL and SEFER SHORASHIM (grammar and dictionary), eventually to become the "Bible of the Hebraists," were too difficult for beginners. While it is true that each one of these works was to be published under Levita's guidance and editorship, it is interesting to note that he understood the immediate need of the day by first of all preparing the appropriate basic material. His own writings are distinguished by their lucidity, their simple language, and their accurate and methodic arrangement, with the author abstaining from all abstract and philosophic comments on grammar. Up to his day grammars and dictionaries had been overburdened with dialectics and allegorical exegesis; the absence of such extraneous matters made his books immediately the favorite texts of contemporary students.

In 1517, upon the request of Cardinal Egidio, Levita published a short grammatical treatise, the BAHUR, which he prefaced by the following dialogue:

CARDINAL EGIDIO: . . . Arise and compose a work [that] will render clearly the beautiful statements with scrutiny and thorough search of the language. For all the works of the grammarians that I have seen do not contain enough worthy material to fulfill my desire and to quench my thirst. Some of them write at great length, who do increase words without benefit to philological studies; by their brevity others omit matters essential to the discipline. Therefore, you, like a hero, gird thy loins and choose the mean of the two extremes, declare unto us the hidden things of this science of grammar and of language. . . . Compose a book so that many may merit by its study and that it may stand as a banner for the gentiles. . . .

LEVITA: . . . Therefore, I, Levita, have written a book which I shall call *Bahur* (meaning both *Preferred* and *Youth*) because

1. all of it is excellent, preferred material . . .

[12] These introductory grammars were the MAHALACH of Moses Kimhi (ed. Princ., Pesaro, 1508) and the LESHON LIMMUDIM of David ben Salomon ibn Yachya (Constantinople, 1506). Levita published the first work with short notes in 1508 (Pesaro) and again in 1546 (Venice), and Münster edited the second treatise with a Latin translation in 1531 at Basel; see Steinschneider, nos. 1051 and 983 resp. David Kimhi's studies were printed as follows: the MIHLOL at Constantinople, 1530–32 and again by Levita with annotations at Venice, 1545; and the SEFER SHORASHIM (Liber Radicum) *s.d.e.l.*, before 1480 in Italy and again by Levita at Venice, 1546; see Steinschneider, nos. 1049 and 1050.

2. it has been written for the student to be a companion in the days of his youth . . .
3. by this name I prefer to be known [BAHUR became Levita's nom de plume].[13]

As early as 1525 Münster published a Latin translation of the BAHUR in Basel, and the second Hebrew edition appeared in 1542 at the Isny press of Paul Fagius.

This introductory grammar was soon followed by two supplementary treatises, published in 1518: the SEFER HA-HARKABAH, dealing with irregular nouns and verbs, and the PEREK ELIJAHU, a dissertation on servile letters and syntax. Since the manuscripts of two lexicographical studies were destroyed in 1527, it was not until 1541 and 1542 that our scholar could have these works printed: the TISHBI, an explanation of seven hundred and twelve post-biblical words; and the unique *Nomenclatura,* an alphabetic listing of Hebrew words and terms which would enable a writer to compose Hebrew letters, prefaces, poems, epigrams and the like from either a Latin or a German draft.[14] Its nine hundred eighty-five words and thirty idiomatic expressions are arranged in four columns: the German word in Hebrew letters, the corresponding Hebrew and Latin terms, and, finally, the German term in German letters. It appears that Fagius, with whom Levita lived at that time, provided the Latin portion of the *Nomenclatura.* As we know from many extant examples, such learned compositions in Hebrew, whether letters, prefaces, or poems, were considered among sixteenth-century humanists to be the final proof of scholastic proficiency, and some of these creations make delightful reading even today.

In addition to the handbooks of Hebrew, Levita performed a similar service for biblical Aramaic and for the study of the Masora, the system of vowel-points and diacritical marks which throughout the ages has made possible the fixation as well as the preservation of the Hebrew text of the Bible. Particularly, the question concerning the age of these vowel-points was to be of the highest importance for Christian students of the Scriptures.

Against the traditional assumption that the masoretic apparatus and with it the compilation of the biblical text was the work of Ezra (about 450 B.C.E.), reaching back in parts even to Moses, Levita

[13] A second edition of this work was prepared by Levita at Isny in 1542. I used the Berlin edition of 1767, from which the above excerpt was translated. For the complete bibliography of this treatise, see Steinschneider, no. 1159.

[14] Amram, *op. cit.,* 238–40; Marx, *op. cit.,* 321–41; Perles, *op. cit.,* 36 ff., and Steinschneider, nos. 1160, 1165, 1167, 1166.

presented strong arguments for the view that the vocalization of the text as a complete discipline was introduced not earlier than the seventh century of the Christian era. Most leaders of the early Reformation found no objection to this theory; within a generation, however, this problem became the source of heated dogmatic and historical arguments between Catholics and Protestants. In general, the Catholic position held to the late date of the Masora, which was thought to be consonant with continuing revelation. Since both the Septuaginta and the Vulgata preceded by many centuries the text of the Hebrew Bible as fixed by the Masoretes, it could then be assumed that the earlier texts have a higher degree of certainty where the Greek and Latin versions differ from the Hebrew. The Protestants, adhering to the doctrine that revelation came to an end with the age of prophecy, thus quite logically had to accept the opposite position—that the Masora originated with Ezra and that it preceded the Aramaic as well as the Greek and Latin translations. As late as the middle of the seventeenth century many Lutheran scholars, such as the eminent Johannes Buxtorf of Basel, maintained the traditional view, although some more critical Calvinist Hebraists, e.g. Lud. Capellus, became followers of Levita's point of view and were dubbed "patroni Eliae" by the Buxtorfs. The historical significance of this controversy was well summarized by Ludwig Diestel in his *"Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der Christlichen Kirche":*

This controversy shows, yea determines henceforth the character of Old Testamental investigation. The defenders of the traditional view must, by necessity, resort to sophistic arguments when fighting the vain battle of dogmatic postulation against the clear facts of textual criticism. . . . This defense, whose notions are thoroughly unnatural, often even absurd, refuses to yield to the most concise logic. Thus theological work loses slowly the common ground it had once shared with philology, and theology becomes used to an isolated position, foregoing its high calling for the larger field of human knowledge. This kind of defense received such a fixed character that—surrounded by the halo of pious orthodoxy [Kirchlichkeit]—it continued to the present day. Nevertheless, the history of the biblical text was greatly furthered and advanced by this controversy.[15]

[15] "Dieser Streit zeigt, ja bestimmt fortan wesentlich den Charakter der alttestamentlichen Forschung. Die Vertheidiger der Vokale üben eine Polemik, welche, den vergeblichen Kampf dogmatischer Postulate mit den klaren Thatsachen der Textgeschichte darstellend, zur Sophistik greifen muss. Sie kennzeichnet sich durch den Versuch, jedes einzelne Argument zu entkräftigen oder doch zu schwächen—meist auf Grund positiver Voraussetzungen, die in den verschiedenen Argumentationsreihen sich widersprechen,—ohne eine klare Gesammtanschauung des Sachverhalts oder doch mit Vorstellungen, welche durchaus unnatürlich, oft widersinning sind, aber auch der schärfsten Logik nicht

As grammarian of Hebrew, as lexicographer of Aramaic, and as critic of the Masora, Elias Levita opened up the field of Semitic philology to Christian students. It was through the devoted efforts of Fagius and Münster, who translated and re-edited almost all of their master's literary works, that he became well known and exerted permanent and lasting influence upon Christian Hebraists for many years to come, above all in German-speaking countries and France. Richard Simon stated in his *Histoire Critique* (Rotterdam, 1690) that those who want to understand Hebrew thoroughly should read the treatises of Elias Levita, and a nineteenth-century scholar of the stature of Gesenius paid high tribute to him.[16]

Mention should be made of some of the Christian colleagues of Levita, Italian by birth, who contributed to the spread of Semitic learning at this early period. We think of such men as Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536), bishop of Nebbia, who in 1516 published in Genoa the *Psalterium Polyglottum,* containing the Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, Arabic, and Latin texts of the Psalms, together with Latin commentaries.[17] This little book is the first of these printed polyglot editions—Giannozzo Manetti had already translated portions of the Hebrew Bible from the original for his own use some sixty years earlier—in which scholarship displayed itself by producing parallel versions of the Bible and which were to culminate in the great Polyglot Bibles of the seventeenth century. Of lasting interest is Giustiniani's comment on Psalm XIX:4—"Et in fines mundi verba eorum," which prophecy he thought had been fulfilled through the discovery of America by his fellow Genoese Columbus. Our author

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weichen wollen. Dadurch verliert die theologische Arbeit nach und nach den gemeinsamen Boden mit der ganzen Wissenschaft und gewöhnt sich an ein isoliertes Dasein, ihres hohen Berufes für das Gesammtgebiet des Erkennens vergessend. Die ganze Art der Vertheidigung gewann einen so festen Charakter, dass sie, umgeben mit dem Nimbus frommer Kirchlichkeit, bis auf den heutigen Tag sich fortgepflanzt hat. Immerhin aber ward durch den Streit die Textgeschichte wesentlich aufgehellt"; p. 338. The bibliographic data on these various masoretic writings are presented in Levi, *op. cit.,* 59–63. Hody, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Versionibus Graecis & Latina Vulgata,* IV (Oxford, 1705) and Chr. D. Ginsburg, *The Massoreth Ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita* (London, 1867) discuss this controversy in detail. A more recent study in the same field has been prepared by Robert Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making—A Study of the* KETHIB–QERE (Philadelphia, 1937).

[16] These and additional posthumous tributes to Levita are listed in Levi, *op. cit.,* 24 ff.

[17] *Psalterim Hebreum, Grecum, Arabicum, et Chaldeum cum Tribus Latinis Interpretationibus et Glossis . . . Aug. Iuistiniani Genuensis Praedicatorii Ordinis Episcopi Nebiensis in Octaplum Psalterii ad Leonem. X. Pontif. Maximum Praefatio. . . . Genuae Calendis Augustii M.D.XVI.* (All this material is then repeated in the other languages.) The writer used a copy of the *Psalterium* in the possession of Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh.

then provides a fourteen-hundred-word biography of Columbus, his travels and explorations, to this writer's knowledge the first published vita of the great Italian. A few years later Giustiniani published the first printed Latin version of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed,* a feat not to be attempted again until 1629.[18] The bishop spent the last years of his life in France, as did Paulus Paradisus and Agathius Guidacerius, the Hebrew lecturers at the Collège trilingue, better known as the Collège de France, which Guillaume Budé had been able to establish with his king's consent after 1529. Guidacerius was another of the scholars who lost their livelihood as well as libraries in the 1527 Sack of Rome.

The most significant of the Italian scholars of Hebrew of this period, undoubtedly, was Santes Pagninus, who also spent the last part of his life in France.[19] Born about 1470 at Lucca, he joined the Dominican order and in 1514 was appointed professor of Oriental languages at the Sapienza by Leo X. In 1521 he left for Avignon, and in 1524 we meet him at Lyons, where he died in 1541. Like the other Hebraists of his day Pagninus, who accumulated a considerable knowledge of the language, its grammar, vocabulary, and literature, must have had Jewish teachers, though to my knowledge he never refers to them in any of his extensive writings.

Together with the grammatical treatises of Levita and his pupils, the works of Pagninus on David Kimhi are largely responsible for the pre-eminent position which Kimhi enjoyed among the Christian scholars of the century; even as strong-minded a man as Luther would readily recognize him as the *doctissimum Hebraeorum.*[20]

The most important contribution of Pagninus is his Latin translation of both the Old and New Testament, which found rapid acclaim among the learned and which was used as the Latin text of the monumental London Polyglot (1657 +). For the first time since Jerome a Christian scholar produced a Latin version of the entire Bible out of the original Hebrew and Greek; this translation is dis-

[18] Perles, *Die in einer Münchener Handschrift aufgefundene erste latein. Übersetzung des Maimonidischen "Führers"* (Breslau, 1875, 76 pp.), as reprinted from *Monatsschrift der Gesellschaft für die Wissenschaft des Judentums,* XXIV (1875).

[19] On Guidacerius see H. Galliner, "Agathius Guidacerius, 1477?–1540, an Early Hebrew Grammarian in Rome and Paris," *Historia Judaica,* II (1940), 85–101; and on Pagninus, Wetzer und Welte's *Kirchenlexikon* (1895), IX, 1270, and *La Grande Encyclopédie,* XXV, 794, as well as E. Wind, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* Series 6, XXVII (1945), 211–46.

[20] "Tischgespräche," *Sämmtliche Werke,* ed. Irmischer (Erlangen, 1830+), LXII, 314, 112. In the preface to his Latin Bible with annotations by Vatable (Paris, 1545), Robert Estienne states: "Nam Sancti Pagnini versionem, sicut omnium doctissimam confitentur, qui iudicio sunt in hoc genere excellentiori, sic paulo obscuriorem esse queruntur, quod verbum verbo reddere studuerit."

tinguished by its extreme literalness and its great reliance upon rabbinical interpretations.

It may strike us as strange that this period of Oriental studies in Italy and by Italians should so soon come to an end. The Italian Wars, the Sack of Rome, the political hegemony of Spain, the shifts in trade, the intensity of the theological problems brought in focus by the Reformation, and the operation of censorship might be regarded as causes of the movement away from Italy. Italy had provided apparatus and teachers, and had been the land of inspiration for progressive scholarship, attracting students and sending back masters.[21] It had produced intellectual activities of major importance, which in other countries were to grow in force and to continue without interruption to our time.

The contribution of Italy to the study of the Bible—however valuable it was in editions of texts, grammars, and lexical aids—did not extend itself along that line of interest which was to come when the Reformation gave a singular and even exclusive place to Scriptures. Thus it was that a positive rise of interest in such scholarship is seen in France, the German countries, the Netherlands, and later in England, just when it begins to wane in Italy. The northern countries became the center of Hebraic and Oriental scholarship and of the ever-widening occupation with their historic cultures.

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[21] Much of Renaissance intellectual history is characterized by a quiescence of institutional scholarship but great richness of personal scholarship. The considerable personal migratory history of Christian Hebraists back and forth across Europe may serve as a case in point—omitting the most famous humanist of all, Erasmus, who was not a Semitic scholar:

1. *before 1500:* Peter Nigri (Schwartz)—Bohemia, Germany, Spain, Germany, Hungary
   Guil. Raimundus—Spain, Italy, Germany, Italy
   Joh. Reuchlin—So. Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Germany
2. *1500–1540:* (in addition to the travels of the various Italians mentioned in the text)
   Joh. van Campen—Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Poland
   Guillaume Postel—(traveled constantly all over Europe)
3. *after 1540:* Paulus Fagius—Germany, Switzerland, England
   Albrecht Widmanstadt—Germany, Italy, Austria
   Andreas Masius—Germany, Italy, Low Countries, Austria
   Peter Tremellius—Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France, England.

The Contribution of French Jurists to the Humanism of the Renaissance[1]

How to define humanism as a description of the intellectual activities of the Renaissance is a much vexed question. Whereas Italian humanism was dominated by the professional rhetoricians who imitated classical models and founded classical philology, French humanism, stimulated by the discovery of Greek learning, preoccupied by moral problems, attempted to achieve a fusion of Christian and classical erudition. The interests of the humanists, which included Greek fathers of the church and Byzantine authors as well as the traditional classic writers, were encyclopedic, as in Budé and Jacques Peletier, and philosophic, as in Montaigne and Charron.[2]

Although humanists were to be found in all classes of society, from nobles, ecclesiastics, courtiers, professors, and doctors to printers and merchants, the legal profession appears to have had among its members more distinguished humanists than are to be found in any other one group. Rabelais, although not a law-school graduate, acquired such a profound knowledge of Roman law from his own study and from his association with the lawyers of Fontenay-le-Comte, the brilliant *cénacle* presided over by the learned André Tiraqueau, that he could argue as a young monk with Budé over the meaning of *de dolo malo* and jest so eruditely on the titles of the Pandects that scholars have not yet solved all his puns and allusions.[3] Montaigne's career as lawyer and judge before his retirement to his tower provided him with ample material for his keen analysis of the vagaries of human conduct as well as a lifelong interest in the classic historians.[4]

The literary activities of lawyers were various and prolific, but

[1] The preparation of this article was made possible by a grant-in-aid from the Research Committee of the University of Alabama. An earlier version of it was read at the Southeastern Renaissance Conference at Chapel Hill, N. C., April 17–18, 1953.

[2] For a discussion of the provenience of the word "humanist," see Augusto Campana, "The Origin of the Word 'Humanist,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* IX (1946), 60–62, and Paul O. Kristeller, "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance," *Byzantion,* XVII (1944–45), 366. For the characteristics of Italian humanism, see Kristeller, *ibid.,* 353 ff. Walter Rüegg defines a humanist as follows: "Der Humanist muss auf der Höhe seiner Zeit sein: dies wird von Erasmus immer wieder betont. Als Mann des 16. Jahrhunderts müsse er die Probleme seiner Zeit ebenso lebendig und aus der Verantwortung seines gebildeten Subjektes heraus gestalten, wie es Cicero für seine Zeit getan" (*Cicero und der Humanismus* [Zürich, 1946], 123).

[3] Cf. J. Barat, "L'Influence de Tiraqueau sur Rabelais," *Revue des Études rabelaisiennes,* III (1905), 253–75 and Ch. Perrat, "Rabelais et le *de nobilitate* de Tiraqueau," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* XVI (1954), 41. For an explanation of Rabelais' legal puns, see Jean Plattard, *L'Adolescence de Rabelais en Poitou* (Paris, 1923), 145 ff.

[4] See especially Georges Hubrecht, "Montaigue, Jurist," *IV^e centenaire de la nais-*

their contributions to belles-lettres have received but little attention from the historians of literature. They wrote short stories, epigrams, and even tragedies; yet poetry in Latin and in French was their favorite genre. Jean de Boyssoné, professor of law at Toulouse and a friend of Dolet, wrote verses and epigrams in Latin and French. Louis Le Caron, or Charondas, wrote poetry, dialogues, and a book on philosophy. Three of the most famous *conteurs* who followed the Rabelaisian tradition were lawyers: Guillaume Bouchet, Nicolas de Cholières, and Noël du Fail.[5] Jacques Duhamel, a lawyer of the Parlement of Normandie, wrote several tragedies; Remacle d'Ardenne even celebrated the rather austere charms of the Pandects in a dedicatory epistle to a volume of Latin verses.[6] One of the most cultivated lawyers who combined erudition with a taste for literature and music was Gilles Bourdin, who eventually became *procureur général* at Paris. Learned in theology, medicine, and mathematics, he displayed his mastery of the classic languages by a Greek commentary on Aristophanes and a Latin commentary on an *ordonnance* of 1539. To these accomplishments, he added a knowledge of Italian literature and skill in singing and playing the lute.[7]

The humanistic education which provided the indispensable basis for legal studies was affected by the new orientation towards Greek learning and philosophy which culminated in the founding of the Collège royal in 1530.[8] The history of the growth of Hellenism, the study of the Greek tradition, the publication of Greek and Latin texts, and the numerous translations which flowed from the presses are closely related to the renewed interest in jurisprudence. Although it is true that the jurists were more interested in Latin literature than

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sance de Montaigne. Conférences organisées par la ville de Bordeaux (Bordeaux, 1933), 239–99.

[5] For Boyssoné, see Lucien Febvre, *Le Problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1942), 25, 283; E. Pasquier, *Recherches de la France* (Paris, 1621), 902, praises the intelligence of Le Caron; for Du Fail, see E. Philipot, *La vie et l'oeuvre littéraire de Noël du Fail* (Paris, 1914); L. Sainéan, *L'Influence et la réputation de Rabelais* (Paris, 1930), discusses the *conteurs*.

[6] "Pandectorum numerosis voluminibus, sacrarumque constitutionum sanctionibus me devincio. Quo in gramine, deus optime, quid non reperi? que artium referta magis magisque ferax? que magis equitati et honestati consentanea? que maior virtutum excultrix? que potior mastyx vitiorum? que voluptates domat promtius? Quid in quoque genere tam sublime: tam arduum: tam magnificum: quod non in veterum illorum iure consultorum voluminibus conditum insertumque delitescat?" In D. Murarasu, *La poésie néolatine* (Paris, 1928), 54.

[7] Antoine Loisel, "Pasquier ou Dialogue des Advocates du Parlement de Paris," in M. Dupin, *Profession d'avocat, Recueil de Pièces* (Paris, 1832), I, 214–15.

[8] "During the Renaissance, not only theologians and scientists, but also politicians, physicians, classical philologists, literary men, and artists were driven to philosophic reflection" (P. O. Kristeller and J. H. Randall, "The Study of the Philosophies of the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* II [1941], 449).

in Greek, in France a knowledge of Greek had become a sign of distinction which separated the new school of humanists from the humanists of the end of the fifteenth century, who preserved their scholastic prejudices. The jurists who became interested in the historical and philological reinterpretation of the law in studying the sources of the classic tradition knew the importance of Greek. Among the thousands who flocked to the lectures of Aleandro and Tissard, and later to those of Danès and Turnèbe, there were few ecclesiastics and fewer courtiers. That the majority must have been students of law is proved by the long list of jurists who knew and read Greek.[9] The practicing lawyers who followed the *mos Italicus* had no need of Greek, but those who followed the *mos Gallicus* realized the essential unity of the Greek and Roman tradition. Jean de Coras was an eloquent spokesman for this point of view:

> Moreover since a great part of our legal learning comes to us from Greek sources, these must be examined and read. And besides the *novellas* of Justinian and many other commentaries of the jurisconsults on the law, other writings dealing with civil law, written in Greek, must be read. Unless the candidate for legal degrees has combined his Latin studies with Greek, it is only with the utmost difficulty that he will be able to penetrate the secrets of our science. In fact, it is impossible to say how great are the advantages of knowing Greek literature in respect to civil law, and, on the other hand, I, having tried it, can testify to the handicap involved in ignorance of Greek.[10]

The *mos Italicus* ignored historical criticism in its interpretation of separate passages of the *corpus Juris,* which was considered as a code of existing law. The *mos Gallicus* attempted to clear away the incrustations of the glossators and to reinterpret the Roman law in the light of historical institutions with the aid of philological criticism.[11]

The present selection for study herein of seven jurisconsults—Budé, Alciato, Cujas, Doneau, Hotman, L'Hospital, and Bodin—

[9] Some law students studied Greek at the time they were studying jurisprudence. Henri de Mesmes and Guy du Faur de Pibrac while law students at the University of Toulouse read Sophocles, Aristophanes, or Euripides every day; see Abel Lefranc, *La vie quotidienne au temps de la renaissance* (Paris, 1938), 194. See also Linton C. Stevens, "The Motivation for Hellenic Studies in the French Renaissance," *Studies in Philology,* XLVII (1950), 113–25.

[10] Ioanis Corasii, iureconsulti clarissimi, senatorisque Regij Tolosae meritissimi, *De iuris arte libellus: Quo instituuntur legum studiosi, universum Ius populi Romani dispersum ante, divulsum et dissipatum, in artis rationem, formamque reducere* (Lyons, 1560), 15.

[11] "Senza la ricerca filologica non c'è umanesimo giacchè non c'è che un atteggiamento generico di difesa della cultura classica che può ritrovarsi in tutte le epoche e perciò non ne caratterizza nessuna" (Nicola Abbagnano, *Storia della filosofia,* Vol. II, Part 1 [Turin, 1949], 3).

has been determined by their conception of the law. Whereas other jurists attained almost equal fame as interpreters of the Pandects, these commentators possessed a comprehensive liberal culture far superior to that of most of their colleagues, whose intellectual baggage consisted chiefly of legal erudition. Their humanistic interests made it possible for them to illuminate, enrich, and clarify the *Code* without having recourse to the glosses. Budé was interested in Roman history and philology; Alciato combined philology with literary and ethical studies; Cujas founded juridical historiography; Doneau, historian and archaeologist, contributed the first great synthesis of civil law; Hotman was an antiquarian, analyst, and challenger of monarchical authority; L'Hospital was a defender of tolerance and protagonist of the ethical values of the law; and at the end of the century, Bodin, perhaps the greatest legal philosopher of all, founded international law. Although these men were alike in their veneration for Latin and Greek culture, they differed widely in some aspects of their legal philosophy; for example, with respect to the source of authority of the law, there was a difference of opinion as to whether it should be vested in the sovereign alone or in the sovereign and the citizens.

These men have been chosen, not primarily for their contributions to literature, nor for their eminence as scholars, but for their dual significance as interpreters of the law and as intellectual leaders who exerted great influence upon generations of law students who were to constitute a large part of the cultivated public of the Renaissance. Even though Michel de L'Hospital is considered to be more of a statesman than a jurist and Bodin more of a historian than a legal commentator, the philosophic implications of their work are more relevant to humanism than the writings of Duaren, Baron, or Godefroy. In all these jurists, a critical examination of texts and an erudition which included not only a knowledge of the law and its sources but also a wide familiarity with the literature and philosophy of the ancients served to stimulate their zeal for the discovery of truth, to formulate new methods, and to construct a new synthesis of humanistic disciplines, which were to attain their objective in the establishment of scientific criteria for historical research.[12]

[12] Pierre Jourda describes this search for the truth characteristic of the jurists as an important aspect of humanism: "Il vient, ce désir d'une vérité plus vraie (si j'ose dire), de ce qui caractérisait d'abord l'Humanisme: le culte de l'antiquité, le culte du savoir, le culte des textes, le mépris des gloses et des commentateurs" ("Humanisme français au XVI[e] siècle," *Quelques aspects de l'Humanisme médiéval* [Paris, 1943], 59).

Although well known to all Renaissance scholars, Budé must be included in any discussion of humanistic jurists. His efforts to clear away the obscurity and confusion into which generations of commentators had plunged the Roman law were eminently successful. In his *Annotationes* on the Pandects, he mentions history, rhetoric, and poetics as the real aids for the formation of a new science of the law as he conceived it. He maintained that the law cannot be understood without Greek, but since he devoted most of his attention to grammatical and to what we would now describe as semantic problems, his labors have little relevance to a new synthesis of the law.[13] Without minimizing Budé's merits as a juridical pioneer, we must insist that the importance of his philosophical and critical commentaries has been much exaggerated by his enthusiastic biographers. Neither Le Roy, Rebitté, Delaruelle, nor Viard has proved that Budé contributed anything significant to the philosophy of the law. If we accept the statement of Plattard that the *Annotationes* were the foundations of juridical science, we must interpret this chiefly in a technical sense. Budé's real merit is to be found in his philological exegesis of the meaning of the text and in his historical criticism. His judgment was limited, his sympathies were narrow. Judging the reform movement as a manifestation of a democratic revolution, he failed to see that Protestantism was attractive to many intellectuals, and he could not foresee that the Protestant jurists were to increase in numbers and to win more prestige in the second half of the sixteenth century.[14] Nevertheless, it is quite true that there were many distinguished Catholic jurists, among whom Budé and Alciato were perhaps the most eminent.

Alciato, although an Italian jurist who had studied and taught Roman law in Italy, exercised so great an influence through his teach-

[13] ". . . ac sine Graecae linguae cognitione Latinam mancam atque debilem esse: quod nemo doctiorum diffitebatur. Nisi vero credimus ducenta Pandectarum loca sine eius cognitione satis intelligi posse, aut nisi inficias ibimus totum pene titulum, De excusationibus, a iuris autoribus Graece scriptum fuisse, sicque a Tribuniano relictum quod ipsum facile est cernere ex genere styli, qui sordidus et obscurus videtur cum stylo Iurisconsultorum compositus: nec ex Graeco traductus, sed extortus utriusque linguae ignorantia, quomodo et in multis aliis locis Pandectarum" (*Annotationes Gulielmi Budaei parisiensis secretarii regii in XXIIII pandectarum libros* [Lyons, 1551], 554).

[14] "Sein Urteil war einseitig, denn, wie wir wissen, fühlten sich auch die Intellektuellen zu der 'neuen Religion' hingezogen. Er teilte damit die auffassung des Königs Franz und seiner Ratgeber, die die reformatorische Bewegung als 'Religion der kleinen Leute' bezeichneten" (Josef Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin* [Graz, 1950], 100). Among the numerous Protestant lawyers, the following might be mentioned: Jacques Cujas, F. de Ferrières, Pierre Daniel, Jean Cadurce, François Baudouin, Hugues Doneau, Nicole Berault, François Hotman, Denis Godefroy, Charles du Moulin, Innocent Gentillet, and Bonnefoi of Valence.

ing and his works during his fourteen years in France that he rightly deserves a place among French jurisconsults. With him, we enter into a new era of legal science. He sought for a reform of jurisprudence on a universal basis. The reorientation of Alciato's ideas found expression in an early publication when he was still a student at Bologna in his insistence upon the combination of jurisprudence with *bonae literae*.[15] In both schools, the traditional and the humanistic, it was first a question of the opposition of theory and practice, for the merit of the post-glossators was in the fusion of the pure Roman law with the medieval, of which the origins were partly ecclesiastical, partly Italian, and partly German. Alciato's emphasis upon a return to the sources was directed against the eternal commenting upon the commentaries, but certainly not against the commenting upon the sources. He believed that jurists should have a thorough humanistic background:

And, in order that I may not keep you any longer in suspense in regard to the method I propose, I shall say that I consider the best method for anyone who hopes to approach the study of civil law is to provide himself first with a knowledge of good literature. And lest any of you young men may fail to understand, I call good literature the arts of speaking: grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric. Intellectual sciences I name likewise the knowledge of history and poetry. I call also by the name of intellectual sciences those parts of philosophy on the one hand, which are concerned with the investigation of the secrets of nature, and on the other hand, that which fashions the morals of citizens. Finally, I call intellectual sciences a knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, which receives the name of scientific culture because, although they may contribute in a more lofty manner to other professions, yet they contribute chiefly to the advantage of jurisprudence.[16]

[15] Ernst V. Moeller, *Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der modernen Jurisprudenz* (Breslau, 1907), 96. Alciato was also interested in many authors, both classic and modern, who had little to do with the science of law. Besides Galen, Hutten, Luther, and Tacitus, mentioned in a letter to F. Calvo, Sept. 26, 1520, he writes in another letter, dated Oct. 4, 1521: "Velim diligenter cures Epigrammatum Latinorum collectanea. Possis ex Phoedri haeredibus aliquid eorum habere, ex Bembo, Beroaldo Juniore, Anselmo Georgio, Nicolao Archicomite, Andrea Nauclerio, Sannazaro et quos alios idoneos iudicaveris" (Gian Luigi Barni, *Le Lettere di Andrea Alciato giureconsulto* [Florence, 1953], 4, 37).

[16] "Et ne vos iam dudum viae a me proposite cupidos, diutius suspendam, hanc ego ad legum civilium studia foeliciter tractanda, optimam viam esse existimo, ut quis prius se bonarum literarum viatico instruat, quam iter discendi iura civilia capessat. Et ne quis vestrum, optimi iuvenes, erret, bonas literas appello artes dicendi, cuius modi est grammatica, dialectica, rhetorica. Bonas artes voco, historiarum iuxta ac Poetices cognitionem. Bonas artes nomino philosophiae partes, quarum una naturae arcana indagat, altera mores civiles fingit. Denique bonas literas appello tam graecae quam latinae literaturae cognitionem quae hoc nomine bonae literae vocantur, quod cum aliis sublimius artium professionibus, tum iurisprudentiae adprime bono existunt: id quod dum singulatim

Alciato began his teaching at Bourges in 1529. His fame as a jurist made him one of the highest paid professors of the sixteenth century. Although he could not write Greek as well as Budé, his knowledge of Greek literature was almost as extensive. He was quite familiar with the comedies of Aristophanes, from which he derived much information. He illustrated his arguments with citations from Homer, Plato, Plutarch, Herodotus, Diodorus, Porphyry, Xenophon, Lucian, Demosthenes, Hesiod, and Theocritus. He respected the work of Budé, but he did not hesitate to point out the numerous mistakes in the *Annotationes* and to censure Budé's arrogance.[17] His interest in history is revealed by his publication of the *Encomium historiae* at Haguenau in 1530, and by his commentary on Tacitus. Toffanin even compared Alciato with Machiavelli in his desire to strip himself of scholastic prejudices and to draw closer to the pure sources of the law considered from an historical point of view though this aim might seem superfluous to those who saw in Roman law only the norms to be followed in the practical exercise of the forensic profession.[18]

Of the jurists who followed Alciato and Budé in the new interpretation, no one was more distinguished than Jacques Cujas. Without neglecting historical and linguistic erudition, in which he was capable of surpassing his master, he acquired an extensive knowledge of all juridical sources and of the major glossators. Born at Toulouse in 1522, he began the study of law at the university of that name in 1537. With the departure in 1544 of one of his professors, Arnaud du Ferrier, he ceased to attend the university and devoted himself to solitary study for three years. During this time he studied the works of all known jurisconsults, perfected himself in the knowledge of ancient languages, and learned history, oratory, poetry, grammar, philology, moral philosophy, and even natural history. At the age of twenty-five, in 1547, he began to give a private course of lectures on the *Institutes*. The most brilliant students at Toulouse, called "hallebardiers," were authorized to teach publicly without a doctor's degree. Cujas, who had distinguished himself as one of this group, was able to get an early start in a career where competition was keen and eminence difficult to attain. In 1554 he entered the competitive examinations for the chair of civil law; but the professors, encouraged by Jean Bodin, were hostile to him and chose a Bartoliste, Forcadel.

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comprobaro, vos quaeso, uti coepistis, benignas mihi dicenti praebete aures" (*Processus Compendium, atque adeo iuris utriusque praxis expeditissima* [Paris, 1537], 250).

[17] Barni, *Le Lettere*, 69–70.

[18] Barni, "Bellum justum e bellum injustum nel pensiero del giureconsulto Andrea Alciato," *Bibl. Hum. Ren.*, XIV (1952), 335.

He then accepted a chair at Cahors.[19] Although Cujas approved to a certain extent Accursius, he dismissed the Bartolistes with a disdainful judgment: "Verbosi in re facili, in difficili muti, in angusta diffusi."[20]

His teaching at Valence and Turin contributed in no small measure to his fame; but it was at Bourges, to which he was called after a short stay at Cahors, that he acquired the reputation as "aquila, stella jurisconsultorum" which his admiring contemporaries bestowed upon him. He prepared his lectures with the greatest care, spending from three to nine hours on each. Many students followed him from one university to another as the renown of his learning spread. He left a library of 1312 volumes and 500 manuscripts; of these only 192, about one-seventh, consisted of legal works. Of the remainder, the largest categories were historical works, one-eighth; books of poetry, one-sixteenth; and mathematical and geographical works, one-tenth.[21] The most remarkable feature of Cujas' library is the large number of Greek books and manuscripts, which present a variety scarcely surpassed by the king's library. In an age that considered a polished Latin style a sure road to preferment, it would be difficult to say which quality was more admired in Cujas: the elegance of his diction or the brilliance of his exposition of the law. François Hotman, although he attacked Cujas publicly, esteemed his work so highly that he gave instructions to his eldest son to study constantly the psalms of David and the *paratitla* of Cujas.[22] Président du Faur, Jean de Foix, Loisel, and Lescure sent their sons to him for instruction.[23] The humanism of Cujas rested upon the solid foundation of his knowledge of the literature, history, and philosophy of Greek and Latin writers.

As Pasquier says, the University of Orléans had the first and for some time the most famous school of law, but Bourges soon equaled or even surpassed its rival. Of the seven jurists cited by Pasquier—Alciato, Baron, Duaren, Balduin, Hotman, le Comte, and Cujas—

[19] See M. Verne, *Vie de Cujas* (Cour d'appel de Grenoble, audience solennelle de rentrée, 3 Oct., 1938), 17.

[20] Jacques Flach, "Cujas. Les Glossateurs et les bartolistes," *Nouvelle Revue Historique de droit français et étranger* (Paris, 1883), 216.

[21] Ernst Spangenberg, *Iacob Cujas und seine zeitgenossen* (Leipzig, 1822), 61.

[22] Vicentius Gravina, *De Jurisprudentia,* in *Selecta Latinitatis Scripta* of Aemilius Springhetti, S.J. (Rome, 1951), 533. His skill as an archaeologist and a paleographer was revealed in his deciphering of the donation of Hildevara and of the *Charta plenariae securitatis.* He made ample use of the latter in his *Novellarum constitutionum imp. Justiniani expositio* of 1570. See also Leopold Delisle, "Cujas déchiffreur de papyrus," *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Chastelain* (Paris, 1910), 486–91.

[23] Spangenberg, *op. cit.,* 9. His contributions to moral philosophy are revealed in his *Commentaire sur les sentences de Paul* of 1557. See also L. Cabatous, "Etudes sur les jurisconsultes," *Revue de législation et de jurisprudence,* X (1839), 37.

we are obliged to omit Baron, Balduin, and le Comte since their ephemeral reputation did not extend beyond the sixteenth century, but we must add to the list Hugues Doneau or Donellus, a legal commentator and humanist scarcely inferior to Cujas.[24]

Doneau was born in 1527 at Chalon-sur-Saône. He studied the humanities and philosophy at the Collège de Tournon. At Toulouse he studied jurisprudence and had as his masters Jean Coras and Arnaud du Ferrier. When Doneau came to Bourges to teach, there were only two professors of law, Eguinard Baron and François Duaren. In his *Disputationes anniversariae,* of which the first book appeared in 1547 and the second in 1553, Doneau seems to imitate the manner of Cujas. Following the example of the latter, he treats different points of doctrine, of law, and of erudition; he proposes corrections discreetly; he gives the grammatical interpretation of words and explains archaeological difficulties.[25] He finally completed a synthesis towards which the centuries before him had striven, his *Commentarii iuris civilis,* a first comprehensive system of Roman law on a source basis. He explained the individual matters of Roman law *secundum geniuna et domestica principia* and everywhere cited the sources. The index of authors contains one hundred seven names, among which are to be found Cicero, Varro, Ovid, Tacitus, Suetonius, Aulus Gellius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Theophilus, and Johannes Zonaras, a Byzantine chronicler of the eleventh century.[26] He stated that the correct method of teaching was to derive the authority of the law from the princes and the experts.[27] He defined jurisprudence as the knowledge of acts or of histories, knowledge of physics or of medicine, and knowledge of astrology, of mathematics, and of other things handed down by the other arts. Since these arts deal with human things, nowhere else can they be obtained except from the law itself.[28] Justice, legal right, is what is written in the law; *aequitas* (equity, the spirit of justice), or what is just and good, is that which is interpreted from the law and which it is understood the

[24] Pasquier admits that many others would add Doneau to his list (*Recherches de la France,* 902).

[25] M. A. P. Th. Eyssell, *Doneau, sa vie et ses ouvrages* (Dijon, 1860), 159.

[26] Slavomir Condanari, "Humanismus und Rechtswissenschaft," *Ewiger Humanismus,* VIII (1947), 11.

[27] "A principibus est auctoritas iuris peritis et intelligentibus via et recta ratio docendi" (*Hugonis Donelli iurisconsulti commentariorum de iure civili* [Frankfurt, 1596], I, 5).

[28] "Quid enim? iurisprudentia notitia est rerum gestarum, seu historiarum, notitia physicae, aut medicinae, notitia astrologiae, mathematicae, et aliarum rerum, quae aliis artibus traduntur? Atqui et hae artes sunt de rebus humanis, quarum notitia nihil minus, quam ex iure percipitur" (*ibid.,* 48).

law intended.[29] A Protestant, Doneau had as much affection for Hotman as he had hatred for Cujas. Frederick III called him to Heidelberg to occupy a chair of law. From there, outraged by the Saint Bartholomew massacre, he wrote in 1573, under the pseudonym of Zacharie Furnester, a reply to Montluc, bishop of Valence, entitled *Defensio pro justo et innocenti tot millium animarum sanguine in Gallis effuso.*[30]

François Hotman, friend of Doneau and jealous rival of Cujas, is perhaps better known as the fiery author of *Franco-Gallia* and as a political and religious controversialist than as an eminent jurist. Born at Paris, he went to the University of Orléans to study law at the age of fourteen. After a short period spent in Paris as a practicing lawyer, he soon abandoned the courts and offered a course in Roman law at the University of Paris. As a result of his conversion to Protestantism, he was forced to break with his family and lived for a time at Lyons (1547–48), where he published a translation of the *Apology* (1549). In 1549 he was appointed to a chair of the humanities at the University of Lausanne, where he stayed for six years. After distinguishing himself as a professor of law at Strasbourg and Valence, he was called to Bourges in 1567, but was driven out after only five months by a popular uprising against the Huguenots. His furniture and his library were burned; he managed to escape to Paris and in 1572 accepted a chair of Roman law at Geneva.[31]

A scholar of the first rank, he was a master of all the cultural elements of his time. We find in his jurisprudence the antiquarian-critical tendency as well as the dogmatic. The analytic treatment is paramount; the synthesis assumes a dialectic form; his investigations pierce deeply and deal with individual questions; his literary style has the elegance and the purity of the humanistic man of letters. The object of his studies is especially Roman law; to that are added commentaries on Cicero's orations and letters, on Caesar, and on historical problems. But he also contributed to the theory of feudal law and appeared as a political writer in his *De jure regni* (1588), in which he amplified the ideas he presented in the *Franco-Gallia* (1573) when he attacked the hereditary rights of French royalty.[32] In the *Anti-Tribonianus* (1567), Hotman stressed the importance of literary and humanistic studies up to the age of twenty-one. Too much time,

[29] *Ibid.*, V, 278. [30] Eyssell, *op. cit.*, 92, 102.

[31] See Berriat-Saint-Prix, *Histoire du droit romain* (Paris, 1821), 551. Hotman calls Cujas "Tritapostata, temulentus, turbulentus, santimonialium confessor"; see also Etienne Brocaille, *Étude sur François Hotman. La Franco-Gallia* (Dijon, 1902), 18–20.

[32] R. Stintzing, *Geschichte der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft* (Munich, 1880), I, 384.

he said, was wasted in the study of the law, which could be condensed into one or two volumes. He objected to the study of the Code of Justinian because he considered it an incomplete and partial compilation of Roman law. To theoretical principles based on Roman law, he preferred the practical law which could be of immediate use in the courts. For him, Roman law dealt with the rights of citizens and had little concern with the theory of justice and natural law. In his *Anti-Tribonianus* we read:

> The civil law of the Romans was not established in the beginning that it might represent equity and natural law equally suitable to all nations, but that it might raise the prerogatives of Roman citizens to a higher level in comparison with the other peoples of Italy, and this is demonstrated by many examples.[33]

Among the great humanists, such as Erasmus and Montaigne, who combined learning with wisdom and tolerance, no figure appears more eminent than Michel de L'Hospital. He began the study of the law at Toulouse, where he found time to read and discuss the comedies of Aristophanes and the Greek tragedies. After spending six years at the University of Padua, first as a student and then as professor of civil law, he returned to France.[34] When Marguerite de France, sister of Henri II, received the duchy of Berry, she appointed L'Hospital as her minister (1550). Although he had already acquired considerable reputation among humanists and jurists, he now became one of the most important personages of the court of France. Aided by the enthusiastic support of his numerous friends and by royal favor, he was finally elevated to the office of chancellor in 1560.

In those tumultuous times, when partisan passion and religious fanaticism goaded both Catholics and Huguenots to acts of frantic ferocity, it was not easy to remain aloof and to urge the combatants to follow counsels of moderation. Yet Michel de L'Hospital, a lover of peace opposed to violence, dared to risk the enmity of his patrons, the Guises, and the vituperation of the Huguenots in a vain attempt to secure religious toleration. He asked them to forget the claims of parties and sects and to remember that they were Christians. He was convinced that the political order should be based upon moral and legal principles. Since enlightened justice and tolerant religion are

[33] "Neque Jus civile Romanorum initio conditum esse, ut aequitatem et jus naturale omnibus gentibus aeque conveniens repraesentet, sed ut praerogativem stabiliret civium Romanorum in gradu eminentiori, prae reliquis Italiae populis, quod multis exemplis ostendit" (*Antitribonianus sive Dissertatio de studio legum* [Leipzig, 1567], chap. 10).

[34] Albert Buisson, *Michel de L'Hospital* (Paris, 1950), 17.

the two pillars upon which society rests, any attack upon these threatens the stability of the social structure. The state is dependent upon the ethics of individuals; therefore public and private morality cannot be separated.[35] The statement of the chancellor with regard to the ideals of justice is a reaffirmation of a Christian and humanistic credo which Erasmus would not disavow:

> Les compaignes et suites ordinaires de la justice sont la vérité, la raison, l'équité, la franchise, la fidélité, les quatre vertus cardinales, la *pytarchie,* qui est un beau mot signifiant l'obéyssance qui doibt estre par nous rendeue aux puissances ordonnées de Dieu, soyent-ilz princes ou magistrats, la paix et l'abondance de toutes choses. L'escorte, garde et satellites de l'injustice sont le mensonge, l'hypocrisie, le parjure, la trahison, la flatterie, l'impudence, la violence, l'iniquité, la rebellion, et désobéyssance aux magistrats, la guerre, la peste et le désespoir, les assassinats, la vengeance et pauvreté, la sequelle de tous les vices du monde, et finalement la ruyne publique.[36]

Any discussion of representative humanistic jurists of the sixteenth century would be incomplete without some mention of Jean Bodin, whose illustrious career reflects the achievements of an enlightened jurisprudence. By combining legal erudition with historical criticism, Bodin constructs a new synthesis of legal philosophy which provides a fitting culmination to a century rich in juridical commentaries. Born in 1530, the youngest son of a tailor, he first became a Carmelite, but soon abandoned this order to study law at Toulouse.[37] It was at Toulouse that he published his first work, a translation into Latin verse of the *Cynegetica* of Oppian. In 1561 Bodin went to Paris to practice law. In 1566 he published his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem,* which, despite his numerous other works, probably remains his greatest claim to fame. Although this work is mainly concerned with history, it has, nevertheless, been called a monument of juridical humanism. Bodin criticized the exclusive study of Roman

[35] Henri Baudrillart, *Jean Bodin et son temps* (Paris, 1953), 50–51.

[36] P. J. S. Dufey, *Oeuvres inédites de Michel L'Hospital* (Paris, 1825), I, 70. For his efforts in behalf of religious tolerance, see the recent article by Abraham Charles Keller, "Michel de L'Hospital and the Edict of Toleration of 1562," *Bibl. Hum. Ren.,* XIV (1952), 301–310. See also Jean Heritier, *Michel de L'Hospital* (Paris, 1943), who calls L'Hospital the precursor of Vico and Montesquieu. The humanistic and philosophic aspects of law have been well expressed by Salutati in his *De nobilitate legum:* "Tractat enim ars legalis atque considerat qualiter politicus homo debeat operari: que considerata sancit et iubet. Scientia vero legalis, quoniam humanorum actuum, qui de voluntate et libertatis artibrio profiscuntur, regulatrix est, et animam quae vult et eius partes, habitus, atque potentias speculatur" (cited by Giuseppe Saitta in *Il pensiero italiano nell'umanesimo e nel renascimento,* I: *L'umanesimo* [Bologna, 1949], 158).

[37] H. Naef, "La jeunesse de Jean Bodin ou les conversions oubliées," *Bibl. Hum. Ren.,* VIII (1946), 141.

law. He felt the need, in order to secure as complete a synthesis as possible of universal law, to omit nothing of human experience which he described as history, and this history should include human history, natural history, and sacred history.[38]

There has been much discussion whether Bodin was Catholic or Protestant, but a recent critic concludes that he must have been Protestant at the time of his sojourn at Geneva since no one was permitted to remain there without subscribing to the reformed faith.[39] Tolerance was for Bodin a necessity both in theory and in the social order. In the Protestant atmosphere he found a milieu sympathetic to his views, since the Reform was concerned with the opposition of the rights of the individual conscience to authoritarian, papal, or ecumenical disciplines and respected the fundamental rights of man.[40] By making himself the champion of moderation, Bodin sketched the theory of a universal human community which was to provide a basis for international law.[41] Justice and enlightened and tolerant religion are the two social laws upon which all other laws are dependent. Any attack upon these principles is an attack upon society.[42]

The popular concept of humanism in the French Renaissance is far too narrow. Historians of literature generally recognize three groups which are not mutually exclusive. In the first group we find the scholars, translators, and professors who devoted themselves to the study of Latin literature and to rhetoric. They imitated and commented upon poets, orators, and historians and prided themselves upon their elegant Latin style. A second group of scholars, the intellectual elite, included the Hellenists, such as Amyot, Loys Le Roy,[43] and Henri Estienne, who made the masterpieces of Greek literature accessible to the educated classes and stimulated interest in Greek philosophy, history, and criticism. The third group, consisting of poets and satirists, polemicists and historians, nourished on the Latin classics and not unacquainted with Greek, acted as intermediaries be-

[38] Pierre Mesnard, "Introduction à la méthode de l'histoire de Jean Bodin," *Bibl. Hum. Ren.*, XII (1950), 321; see also Beatrice Reynolds, *Proponents of Limited Monarchy in Sixteenth Century France: Francis Hotman and Jean Bodin* (New York, 1931).

[39] Naef, *op. cit.*, 155.

[40] André Gardot, "Jean Bodin, Sa place parmi les fondateurs du droit international," *Académie de droit international, Recueil de Cours*, IV (1934), 561.

[41] *Ibid.*, 574.

[42] Henri Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 50.

[43] Although he contributed to political theory, Loys Le Roy was not a jurist but is known chiefly as a Hellenist and translator; see A. Henri Becker, *Un humaniste au XVI^e siècle. Loys Le Roy* (Paris, 1896).

tween the scholars and the semi-educated public of courtiers and bourgeoisie. In all three groups, the emphasis upon the aesthetic and linguistic aspects of Latin or Greek literature is preponderant; but the philosophical preoccupation with the dignity of man, the rights and duties of the individual, and the ethical basis of society, which belong to the special domain of the jurists, find little expression.

The extraordinary expansion of printing in the sixteenth century, the numerous editions of Latin and Greek texts as well as of translations, presupposed a cultivated public far larger than that comprised by the three groups we have mentioned. This cultivated public is to be found among the jurists, the majority of whom had excellent training in the classics before beginning their legal studies. An examination of the biographies of some thirty of these leading jurists convinces me that most of them were capable of reading Greek and were widely read in Latin literature. Their critical and philological treatment of juridical sources not only led them to a more profound acquaintance with the ancient world, but persuaded them to formulate a new philosophical conception of the relationship of legal principles to the moral status of the individual in relation to society.

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Fr. Lodovico Melzo's *Rules for Cavalry*

THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL of the Spanish cavalry in the Low Countries at the Truce of 1609 was Frate Lodovico Melzo, a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem and a member of an important Milanese family. He represents the Italian professional soldier of the period.

In 1611 there appeared at Antwerp his *Regole Militari sopra il Governo e Servitio della Cavalleria.* This is a folio volume printed in large Italic type, with an engraved title page representing Pallas and Hercules and three typical cavalry soldiers [Plate I], and with a number of double-page folding plates to illustrate the text. Melzo explains in the dedication to his leader, the Archduke Albert, that as soon as the peace of 1609 was made, he judged it a good employment of his leisure to gather together those rules that in the experience of many years he had observed on the conduct and special service of cavalry. To the reader he says that he has sought after clearness by using the language common and current in Italy, though he has not avoided some technical words known to those of his own profession, since for them his volume is chiefly intended. He hopes it will be of immediate practical value.

The preface complains that writers on warfare have not given proper attention to cavalry, in spite of its importance, but have thought that it could be discussed in general, along with other military matters. Yet it requires special treatment, because cavalry is obliged to more frequent movement than infantry and is difficult to manage because of the great number of diverse events and unforeseen chances that allow the commander little time for reflection and can be dealt with only by applying a complete and long military experience. He himself has served for many years, first in the French wars, then in the Low Countries, and with both infantry and cavalry.[1]

On the cavalry, he declares, depends the good outcome of every battle, for by means of it the army makes itself master of the country

[1] Cardinal Bentivoglio in his account of the siege of Ostend writes that "Camp-Master Melzi was ill hurt in his leg" (*The History of the Wars of Flanders*, Englished by Henry, Earl of Monmouth [London, 1678], 357). This infantry service explains Melzo's approval (registered on p. 20 of his book) of the habit of giving the post of lieutenant general of cavalry to one who had been a camp-master of infantry.

PLATE I. Melzo's frontispiece. At the top is the lancer; below, at left, the arquebusier, at right, the corselet. The arquebusier and the corselet are firing, not at each other, but at a distant enemy; the artist's design forced him to put them close together. (Plates from a copy of the book in the library of Duke University.)

PLATE III

PLATE IV

and obtains its supplies, while the opposing forces are starved. Moreover, even in sieges cavalry is of great value, for the riders can not only use the celerity provided by their horses but, dismounting, make assaults and fight alongside the infantry itself; this was exemplified at the famous siege of Ostend and at Rheinberg, where Melzo had served.[2]

Of men-at-arms he does not write, saying that they are wholly given up because light cavalry has been brought to such perfection that it can render with more speed and less expense the service formerly expected from the men-at-arms. Such words indicate that the period when heavy cavalry could be considered the main part of an army was now wholly in the past; chivalry had become cavalry.[3]

Three types of mounted soldier are considered—the arquebusier, the lancer, the corselet—each shown with his weapons in a double-page engraving. The arquebusier's primary weapon is a wheel-lock musket carrying a ball weighing an ounce and a half; the length of the barrel is not specified, but the illustrations and an incidental reference (p. 40) indicate that it is not shortened for ease of handling on horseback [Plate I]. It seems to be an effective infantry weapon. This soldier's only other weapon is a sword. His head is covered with a light and low morion with four neckguards, with earpieces, and with a visor that protects his face against sword cuts. The captain wears a corselet proof against an arquebus bullet (therefore heavy), but on no account is he to wear thigh armor or armor for the lower part of the back, because this is too great an impediment when he has to

[2] See n. 1 and Bentivoglio's account of the siege of Rheinberg: "Spinola had a great care . . . to secure the fields without; in which the Cavalier Melzi, who succeeded Trivulsio in the Lieutenancy of the Horse, did worthily behave himself; and wherein amongst other Captains, our brother Cavalier Bentivoglio, was much employed with his Company of Lances, most commonly augmented with other Troops of Curassiers and Harquebusiers" (*op. cit.*, 365).

[3] Hans Delbrück entitles a chapter on the sixteenth century "Die Umbildung der Ritterschaft in Kavallerie" (*Geschichte der Kriegskunst* [Berlin, 1900+], Vol. III, bk. 2, chap. 1).

PLATE II. A hostile column approaches the quarters of the cavalry
A *The quarters.* B *A guarding company, mounted.* C *The lieutenant of this company who with fifteen horsemen goes to reconnoiter.* D *Sentinels around the quarters.* E *A part of a troop returning from road patrol.* F *Two soldiers of the said troop who fire their arquebuses to give a signal to the quarters.* G *Two other soldiers who fire for the same purpose.* H *Two soldiers who have set fire to a house to give notice to the quarters.* I *The burning house.* K *Hostile companies.* L *Horsemen whom the enemy is sending to reconnoiter the burning house.*

act on foot.[4] The soldier must wear no armor, for that would destroy the agility in dismounted service that is one of his reasons for being. Hence, as is often repeated, he is not fitted for close combat. If, however, arquebusiers are serving alone on a frontier, some of those with the strongest horses may be provided with armor to enable them to engage in sword fight with armored opponents.

Generally the arquebusier's horse is smaller and lighter than that of the lancer or the corselet. When shooting from the saddle he is required to approach to forty or fifty paces from the enemy and to halt, in order to make his aim more accurate (p. 149). The troop acts in open order that it may shoot with more convenience and that a charging enemy may find as little as possible to strike. When fighting in a regularly ordered battle, the men make a single discharge, it appears, and ride off to the right, taking shelter behind other bodies of cavalry (pp. 40, 149) in order to load, while other arquebusiers go through the same evolutions. Practice in loading quickly is urged. Evidently proper charging of their long weapons on horseback would not have been easy; I suspect they dismounted for that purpose. The effect on a standing body of cavalry or infantry of several discharges of ounce-and-a-half balls at forty or fifty paces would be considerable. The reply by the enemy could be the sending forward of its own mounted arquebusiers or the placing of "sleeves" of musketeers on foot between the bodies of stationary horsemen under attack. Melzo also suggests even further protection, such as he had seen used, or perhaps even advised, at Groll:

> On the Front of the Cavalry, and in the Van stood Velasco their General, on the right hand; and Melzi, Lieutenant General, on the left. And because the Enemy were much superior in Horse; their wings were sheltered with long and redoubled Files of Carts, which were likewise furnished with some Files of Musketiers, and with a piece of Artillery in each side.[5]

Free action by the mounted arquebusiers depends on the presence of friendly cavalry in close order ready to support them by a charge against hostile forces attempting to drive them off. But though their

[4] This suggests a practical reason for Sir Philip Sidney's lack of thigh armor at Zutphen. See also Aurelio Cicuta, *Della disciplina militare* (Venice, 1572), 208.

[5] Bentivoglio, *op. cit.*, 367. Melzo advises: "Quando il nimico è molto superiore di Cavalleria, . . . devono tutti i carri esser disposti, con buon'ordine, in duo ò tre file per parte, al fianco della Cavalleria, da' lati di fuori. À difesa de' carri si dispongono alcune maniche di moschettaria, e tra i carri si lascia qualch'apertura, ad effetto di poter mandar fuori Troppe di cavalli, conforme à quello che richiede il bisogno" (p. 155). For further references to sleeves of infantry, cf. Melzo's pp. 70, 85.

mounted service is important, they are equally ready to fight on foot, as when preventing the enemy from crossing a river (pp. 37–38).

The lancer is fully armored to the hips, and carries in addition to his lance one pistol and, to be taken for granted, a sword [Plate I]. He can operate only on level and open ground, since a swift and spirited charge in close order is required of him. For this reason lancers must have excellent horses, able to bear the weight of the man in armor at the gallop, and even so the riders must avoid taking full speed at more than sixty paces from the enemy, lest the horses get blown before arriving. The soldiers must be able, through both strength and training, to use their heavy lances well. In order to keep their proper close order, the units must be of not more than thirty men; such a group can hope to strike the enemy as a unit. After one charge they are to reorganize quickly for another. Because of the need that their horses be always fit for attack with great violence, they are excused from any duties likely to wear down the spirit of their mounts. Moreover, they are of no value in obtaining information (p. 126) and of little value in fighting at night (p. 66); indeed, a lancer on sentinel duty, especially at night, should not carry his lance. Because of the high requirements for both men and horses, it is difficult to get together a large number of lancers.

Lower qualifications in physique and training are possible for the third class, the corselets, for "almost any man, armed in harmony with the needs of the corselet, can easily acquire the ability needed for the use of these arms," which do not demand either the independence, agility, and endurance of the arquebusier or the strength and dash of the lancer (p. 50) [Plate I]. The action of some generals in changing companies of arquebusiers into those of corselets is foolish, because they lose the services of those fitted and trained for the first service and find others with difficulty. The corselets wear armor even to thigh pieces, but it is light, being proof against pistols but not muskets.[6] Their peculiar arms are two pistols. They can act on almost any ground, and their horses—being restricted, except on rare occasions, to the walk or trot—need not be more than mediocre.

Melzo sets the number of horsemen needed to act with 15,000 infantry at 4,000. These are divided into 40 companies, of which 12 are mounted arquebusiers, 10 lancers, and 18 corselets or pistoliers. In 1572 Aurelio Cicuta had suggested a larger proportion; with

[6] When going to seek information or patrolling the roads, they leave off their protection for the arms in order to be less encumbered.

40,000 infantry, he would have 16,000, of whom 6,000 are light cavalry of unspecified armament, 4,000 are stradiots, irregular cavalry without firearms, 2,000 men-at-arms, and 4,000 arquebusiers.[7] The proportion of the latter to other horsemen is somewhat lower than for Melzo. At the battle of Nieuport in 1600, Maurice of Nassau is reported as having but 1,600 cavalry to 12,000 infantry; the Spanish army is given as 10,000 infantry and nearly 2,000 cavalry.[8]

Melzo is alert for the use of cavalry in regularly arrayed battles in the open field, where they are drawn up on the wings of the army. However, he says that he will not give much space to this section because the occasions when the cavalry must fight are for the most part "improvise" (p. 144). His main interest is in the combat of cavalry with cavalry, in which he would strive for the closest co-operation of the various types. The arquebusiers usually are pushed ahead to be supported by the rest. If a large body of hostile cavalry moves forward, small parties of lances are to attempt flank attacks, as when in 1574, at Mocq, Count Louis of Nassau launched a thousand of his German reiters (corselets) against the Catholic cavalry; but twenty-five lancers, striking the reiters in the flank, killed sixty of them and rendered their charge ineffective. Squadrons of corselets in reserve may be employed with great effect. At the battle of Dreux, when the Catholics were seemingly defeated, the Duke of Guise advanced with a body of five hundred at a walk or a slow trot in such good order and with such resolution that the Heretics were obliged to turn aside (p. 146).

The chapter on fighting infantry is short. A leader of cavalry finding infantry in an open field and not drawn up in order ought to attack with resolution; even when the enemy's numerical superiority is much more than two-thirds he can hope for victory. But if the infantry is in good order, the mounted arquebusiers shall first attack with repeated volleys; then the lancers shall charge, in an attempt to make openings at the corners and elsewhere. The corselets are to watch for openings in the ranks or for any disorder and take resolute advantage of it. Yet a solid, well-disciplined body such as that of the Swiss is seldom broken by cavalry. If the infantry divides into several squadrons to protect each other's flanks, cavalry is to attempt only the flanks left

[7] *Disciplina Militare* (Venice, 1572), 258. He calls the *archibugieri a cavallo* also *ferraroli* from the *ferraiuolo* or riding cloak, such as Melzo suggests his mounted arquebusiers should wear to protect their weapons and powder from the rain (p. 40).

[8] At Ivry in 1590 Henry of Navarre had 8,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, his opponents 12,000 and 4,000—somewhat higher than Melzo's ideal proportion.

unprotected. If infantry is in a strong place secured by a wood, a covered road, a ditch, or something of the sort, cavalry should not attack, even in equal numbers, unless there is hope of success in a dismounted action. Melzo gives no instance of a successful mounted attack on foot soldiers. This professional cavalryman is essentially in agreement with Machiavelli, who writes that "well-ordered infantry cannot be overcome without great difficulty except by other infantry."[9]

Further in agreement with Machiavelli, who believes that cavalry chiefly serves by raiding and laying waste the enemy's country, keeping his army worried and annoyed, and impeding his supplies, are Melzo's remarks in the preface and his later explanation that

> the cavalry principally is wont to be employed in many ways for vexing the enemy and keeping him disquieted, now by impeding his supplies, and damaging his foragers, now by sending troops of horsemen to raid right up to his camp for the purpose of getting some booty, and to draw out the enemy that they may fall into some ambuscade [p. 181].

A considerable part of his book is taken up with details of this kind of irregular combat, which was suited to war in the Low Countries, where Maurice of Nassau fought but one regular battle, that of Nieuport, in the open field.

Melzo feels that the soldiers best fitted to this irregular war are the dragoons or mounted arquebusiers, whose employment may vary from fighting in elaborate battles to carrying messages. They are the scouts of the army, they are sent ahead of the officers charged with selecting quarters; when encamped in a village, they are assigned the most exposed places, because they can quickly prepare for service and be ready before the others can get into their armor. As a rear guard they are of the utmost value, partly because they can dismount to hold a bridge or a defile. Some of them carry axes so that they can fell trees to block a road. On foraging expeditions they are always present. They are the soldiers first used in setting ambuscades for the enemy when on the march and for annoying a retreating army. Indeed they seem to have done most of the actual fighting in this war of skirmishes. No wonder that Melzo writes: "In consideration of the continual labor necessary to the mounted arquebusiers and the agility required from them it is certain they should be young rather than old" (p. 38).

Yet, though the descriptions and still more the plates often rep-

[9] *Discorsi*, 2. 18.

resent the corselets and lances as halted in the background, they too are necessary to Melzo's scheme. Believing in armor as he did, he was unwilling to let his arquebusiers get into positions where their special training would be lost. If there is to be hand-to-hand combat, let it be taken by the men prepared for it, and not by men who are good shots at fifty paces or skillful in finding cover. Moreover, the habit of fighting in loose order and on foot probably unfitted these mounted infantry for work in the mass required for shock. Still further, in the absence of pikemen, cavalry ready to charge furnished the dragoon with the security he needed for reloading his piece. Yet it still seems as though our lieutenant general, in spite of his interest in irregular tactics, is conservative in retaining so many lancers and even so many corselets. Perhaps he kept them because, though much occupied with skirmishes, he held firmly the belief with which he begins his section on battle:

> There is no doubt that among the actions of soldiery the chief is that of engaging in battle, since to this all the others are subordinate, as that which directly brings forth the victory, which is the end of carrying on war [p. 143].[10]

Melzo's theory must evidently be looked at in the light of the state of armament at the time, as well as of the conditions of war in a country having many trees and often being too wet for easy movement by heavy horses. The demand for mobility was not yet great enough to force the abandonment of all armor; the protected soldier still enjoyed an advantage. Firearms were so slow and unreliable that many of the infantry were still pikemen, whose effectiveness depended on close order. At fifty paces a well-trained mounted arquebusier could hardly fail to do damage to the crowded infantry, many of them unarmored.[11] The pikemen, however, had their "sleeves" of musketeers who, when competent, must greatly have increased the arquebusier's estimate of fifty paces and shortened his halt for firing. Much the same it must have been when motionless bodies of cavalry had their sleeves of musketeers.[12] But when lances and corselets stood alone, the arquebusier had a great advantage. The pistols of the corselets would not have been effective at fifty paces against men in

[10] Possibly an echo of Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra*, Book 6.

[11] Through the sixteenth century there was much variation in this matter, with a tendency toward abandonment of armor. Aurelio Cicuta gives a formation in which about one-fifth of the pikemen are armored, but also allows for complete lack of them (*op. cit.*, 217).

[12] See, e.g., C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army* (London, 1921), 136–37.

open order. If a charge was attempted, the dragoon had start enough to escape easily, provided he avoided the squadrons of his friends charging for his support.

Conditions continued to change. By 1800 it was possible to secure thoroughbred horses more capable of galloping than those of Melzo's companies had been. Armor had been abolished except for what remained to cuirassiers. The pike had been supplanted by the less formidable bayonet. The infantry were all musketeers, with weapons more reliable than the matchlocks of 1600 but still prone to failure in wet weather. Infantry made greater use of deployment, thus offering more chance for success to a cavalry attack at speed, before footmen could form to receive it. It still remained true, however, that the best infantry, when formed in square, could beat off cavalry. The increased rapidity of cavalry movement had led to neglect of the mounted musketeer, and the dragoon of the early nineteenth century differed little from any other saber-wielding cavalryman.[13] Melzo's lancers and their gallop of sixty yards seem almost comic when compared with later cavalry, but they represent an attempt to preserve the mobility of horsemen. Yet, though mobility was to reappear in the horsemen of Gustavus Adolphus and Cromwell, it was not a gospel that could prevail during Melzo's lifetime.

One sign of the times is Melzo's neglect of field artillery. Cannon appear in the siege operations represented in various engravings used for ornament as well as in the fortifications in the distant background of his illustrated cavalry skirmishes. In his plate of a battle in the open field, cannon are shown near the infantry in the center, where they could fire once or twice before the combat came to push of pike. The situation is such as Machiavelli describes in his *Arte della Guerra,* lib.3. Melzo makes no suggestion that his cavalry in formal combat is ever fired on by artillery or that it endeavors to make a charge on the cannon.[14] Its position on the wings rendered either unlikely. Per-

[13] Changed conditions later brought back such a reminiscence of Melzo's methods as the use of pistols rather than sabers by Forrest's cavalry in the American Civil War. Even the last fanatical believers in cavalry masses were obliged to admit that cavalry would often act on foot, as did Melzo's arquebusiers. See, for example, General Friedrich von Bernhardi, *Cavalry,* with a preface by Field-Marshal Sir J. D. P. French (New York, 1914).

[14] Sir Charles Oman comments on the failure of the regularly embattled artillery at Ravenna to fire on the cavalry on the wings (*Art of War in the 16th Century* [New York, 1937], 139). Melzo's plate showing a formal engagement puts all the artillery in the center, where it could be directed only against infantry. At Ivry the Catholic cavalry did attempt to take Henry's artillery (Oliver L. Spalding and others, *Warfare, A Study of Military Methods from the Earliest Times* [Washington, 1937], 457).

haps, too, an attack on artillery required more rapid and sustained galloping, with consequent disorder, than Melzo could approve.[15] He does give one instance of the death of a cavalry leader from a cannon shot in a surprise attack at night (p. 109).

The value of Melzo's volume is found in his working out of a cavalry suitable for the minor strategy of a war of sieges and positions. As a professional soldier of intelligence, he first discusses the proper command, repeating over and over that the leaders must be men of some education, of experience, of intelligence enabling them to adapt themselves to the situation, and of good morals: "The captain should be watchful, sober, continent, modest in his clothing, and eager to have good horses" (p. 11). He should not be eager to gain money, for "this care and inclination is wholly opposed to all the profession of the soldier." He should be an example to his soldiers, whom "he should render punctual in service and observant of good discipline, not permitting them to make extortions from the country people or to go riding through the country to levy contributions" (p. 12). Orders must be obeyed. In one of the plates the provost, who accompanies the foraging expedition, is represented as hanging a soldier who has disobeyed orders in going beyond the limits set. These mercenaries acquired booty, but death was the penalty for appropriating it to oneself or for knowing of such action and not reporting it. The booty being sold at public auction, shares of the proceeds were carefully divided, with provision for replacing horses killed and

[15] Machiavelli suggests such a charge by light cavalry and light infantry (*Arte della Guerra,* Book 3).

PLATE III. Cavalry supporting a siege

A *A town surrounded by our army.* B *Our quarters on this side of the river.* C *Our quarters on the other side of the river.* D *A sheltered bridge across the river.* E *Our bombardment of the besieged town.* F *The quarters of our cavalry.* G *Our castle two leagues from the camp, within which are a company of arquebusiers and a hundred infantry.* H *A fortified church two leagues from the besieged town and three from the castle; in this church are forty mounted arquebusiers and fifty infantry.* I *Wagons with supplies.* K *Our cavalry and infantry who escort the said wagons.* L *Raiding enemy cavalry who attack our convoy.* M *Troops of the said cavalry.* N *Cavalry from our convoy who go to carry news about the enemy cavalry to our men in the castle and the church.* O *Two cavalrymen of the said convoy who are carrying the same news to the quarters of our cavalry.* P *The company posted at the castle moving out against the enemy.* Q *The cavalry posted at the fortified church going out for the same purpose.*

caring for men wounded (pp. 213–14). In order to keep up a proper flow of remounts, the soldiers paid into a fund a portion of their earnings. Such regulations, suggesting a basis for the excellence of the professional armies in the Low Countries, are to be set over against narratives of mercenary license. This attention to officering and discipline was a necessary foundation for the careful waging of warfare on a small scale—the type of war with which Melzo's volume is primarily concerned.

Much of the Second Book deals with matters of routine. First treated are guides and scouts; the importance of correct information to a leader is emphasized by an example of a defeat suffered for the lack of it. Then come proper precautions for marching at night and in the daytime, the handling of baggage, and the problem of quartering under various conditions. The last chapter is given to the subject of foraging, illustrated by a double-page plate. Wagon loads of hay and grain are moving off. Mounted arquebusiers have advanced as far as operations extend. Advanced companies of infantry occupy the road leading to a hostile garrison town; other infantry is farther back. Several companies of cavalry, including lancers, halt further in the rear. Sentinels and patrols watch the roads in all directions.

The Third Book deals further with the problem of watchfulness and information, always in the writer's mind. A plate shows a town properly guarded in the daytime, with sentinels afar off as well as on the tower of the church. Some stir has been caused by unknown cavalry sighted in the distance, and scouts, properly supported, are cautiously approaching it. A second plate indicates the activity of the patrols on discovering a hostile column near a village occupied by cavalry. To attract the attention of the garrison the patrols have set fire to a house; soldiers riding back to the village discharge their weapons also to attract attention [Plate II]. A small troop issues out for further exploration. In the market place the others have mounted. A further plate illustrates a chapter on the service of cavalry during a siege [Plate III]. In the distance is a camp, fortified on all sides, surrounding the beleaguered town. A wagon train guarded by cavalry

PLATE IV. A surprise attack on a village occupied by the enemy
A *The first troop, of one hundred corselets, which is divided into two sections.* B *The second troop, of arquebusiers, who have dismounted.* C *The third troop, of mounted corselets, who go to the public square of the village.* D *The four quarter-troops of lancers who keep riding around the outside of the village.* E *Servants on horseback and on foot who set fire to the houses.* F *Cavalry of the enemy without organization, who run away.*

and infantry approaches the town and has been assailed by enemy cavalry. Messengers from the wagon train ride for help. From a fortified church and from a castle two leagues from the camp, the mounted arquebusiers stationed there for the purpose ride out to rescue the convoy.

In the Fourth Book large plates show the array for a formal combat. Melzo moves rapidly back, however, to his interest in irregular fighting, first with a large plate showing a surprise attack by four companies on cavalry quartered in a village [Plate IV]. One company of arquebusiers have dismounted and rush through the streets attacking the houses. Two troops of corselets, still mounted, are ready to deal with any serious resistance or to dismount to assist the arquebusiers. Servants set fire to houses. Some of the surprised in fleeing are slain; some attempt to swim a stream on the edge of the village; others have succeeded in mounting and are already in the distance. A troop of lancers, divided into four parts, ride in a circle about the village on the outside, charging any who attempt to assemble. The next illustration shows a rear-guard attack on a retiring column. The fighting is being done by the arquebusiers, the other cavalry being halted in support.

The last four chapters of the Fourth Book deal with the subject of ambuscades—typical of the warfare of the age and place—and contain three plates showing successive phases of an action. In the first, arquebusiers attack a convoy close to the enemy's camp. Their immediate supports, in three groups that altogether amount to three hundred men, are in position, with a sentinel observing from a tree-top. Farther back is a large body of cavalry, concealed at some distance from the road and with its sentinel on the tower of a ruined castle. Still farther along the road infantrymen, including both musketeers and pikemen,[16] hide in a hollow among trees. In the next plate several troops of enemy cavalry come along the road in pursuit of the three hundred, for whom corselets fight a rear-guard action. In the third plate, the ambushed infantry fires on the enemy cavalry, the pursued three hundred turn back, and the main body of horsemen pours out from the ambush to the attack. The enemy is broken and in flight.

[16] The employment of pikemen even when infantry are placed in ambuscade indicates Melzo's cautious desire to have at hand a solid body such as musketeers had not yet become; the pikes could throw off a cavalry attack that would have scattered the other infantry. On this Cicuta writes that the officer sending out infantry for a skirmish should "select a thousand including both arquebusiers and pikemen in that number for either arm determined by the danger and the fitness of the site for pikemen, realizing that the pike is the defense of the arquebus against the cavalry" (*op. cit.*, 357).

Reserve cavalry comes from the enemy camp to cover the retreat, and a body of pikemen occupies the quarters as a further security.

One aspect of such warfare is illustrated as follows:

How important it is that the soldiers who go to put themselves in ambush should not be discovered appears clearly in the example which it seems to me fitting to add.

The army of the Catholic King in Flanders was commanded in the year 1595 by Colonel Mondragon, Castellan of Antwerp, and he being encamped opposite Rheinberg, on the other bank of the Rhine, Count Maurice with the army of the United Provinces had his encampment not far distant from him, between Res and Wesel. The King's soldiers were accustomed to go to forage between Dorst and Wesel. Maurice, knowing this and making the supposition that it would be easy to damage the said soldiers, determined to endeavor to defeat the convoy of the foragers of Mondragon, with which a good part of the cavalry went without saddles. For this purpose Maurice sent Count Philip of Nassau, General of the cavalry of the said Provinces, with six hundred of his best cavalry, ordering him when he has crossed the River Lippe to go into ambush in a suitable place. But in the passage of the said river, Count Philip being discovered by some soldiers of the royal army, they at once notified Mondragon, and when he had brought together his council, opinions agreed that the purpose of the enemy could not be directed to any other end than to the aforesaid attack on the foragers. Mondragon therefore, wishing to try to defeat the enemy, sent on the accustomed road the convoy of foragers, with some companies more than usual, and by another road he sent all the rest of the cavalry, under Don John of Cordova, with orders to take up a position at that place near which it could be decided that the enemy were ambushed. Then when the convoy had been put on the road, the soldiers of Count Philip in ambush saw the royal troops and assuring themselves that they had not been discovered, believed that the said people were all foragers. Two companies of arquebusiers were marching as the vanguard of the convoy, and the scouts having discovered the enemy, who were still in ambush, the vanguard advanced and came so close to them that they did not have time to come out into the open. Hence they began to skirmish, and when Cordova arrived, the men in ambush, being taken in a narrow place, after some resistance, in which at first they made the royal soldiers yield, were later obliged to turn in flight, with the death and capture of many. Among others of quality, one of the prisoners was Count Philip himself, so severely wounded that he died.

The unsuccessful outcome of this ambush had its origin in the cavalry of Count Philip not having been able to keep well concealed, nor to observe if any of the opposite party were about there, who might have seen them while they were marching to ambush themselves; because otherwise the royal soldiers, having no news of them, would have gone to forage with the ordinary convoy

and would easily have received injury from the ambuscade. Nor should Count Philip have ambushed himself with so many horsemen so close to a camp that was superior to him in cavalry [pp. 184–85].

Melzo is interested not in the heroic aspects of the action, but merely in its illustration of his profession; he gives it as briefly as possible, emphasizing only the exemplary points.[17]

Melzo deals with ambuscades from the other side in discussing garrison duty in the Fifth Book. The officer in command of a town must keep the enemy at a proper distance and beware of being lured into danger, as were the cavalry of the above instance. A plate represents in part one of the author's own experiences with an ambuscade, which he thwarted by first dispatching enough men to deal with the obvious raiders and to send out scouts beyond, then himself marching out with his company of cavalry and with a hundred infantry to take a strong position. The scouts discovered the ambuscade, which, on realizing this, retired. A chapter on spies (a military adjunct earlier [p. 159] recommended) concludes Melzo's treatment of the ever-emphasized service of security.

The plates with which the movements described are made vivid have some suggestion of the work of Callot. They are first designed for their illustrative purpose but also give some notion of the landscape with streams, trees, cultivated fields, farmhouses, villages, and castles, with people going about their labors in spite of the combats near them. They emphasize that Melzo believed in taking advantage of the country for his military movements, using a hollow or a wood for concealing even large groups of men. Conventional though he may be in the drawing up of his forces for a formal battle, there is no formalism in his conduct of the irregular warfare that really interested him.

Though unable to escape wholly from the relative immobility in combat forced on the cavalry of the time by the nature of its own weapons and by the pikes of the infantry, Melzo shows insight in his flexible employment of the unarmored dragoon, who can adapt himself to all circumstances save the hand-to-hand fight with armored men. Flexibility comes, too, from his insistence on intelligent and independent action, with the whole situation in mind, by subordinate officers (pp. 5,167). His difficulties in mobility are largely tactical.

[17] For the effect of a different purpose, compare John Lothrop Motley's account of the same affair in *The United Netherlands* (New York, 1880), chap. 31.

Strategically he is full of vigor and imagination, seeking to enlarge the functions of cavalry and increase their effectiveness. His theory is cautious, as is shown by his continual emphasis on scouting and on excellent knowledge of the country, even to the use of maps (pp. 10, 24), yet such preparation is intended as a basis for the prompt and vigorous action he advises, with illustration from his own service of a surprise attack followed by retirement before superior numbers over a long but secure road (pp. 23, 167, 170–72). His exhortations that the units be kept distinct are not the result of pedantry but of a wish that the group be able to fulfill its special function when it was needed, and without delay (p. 173). This wish motivates his tendency to use small semi-independent groups under intelligent officers. His concern is with a manpower economy aimed at preserving an expensive, highly-trained organization that could not be refilled from conscript hordes, hence his precept that it is better to risk a few than to rush into danger with a whole command (p. 178). He further suggests that these small units with experienced leaders are often likely to escape, if bold stratagem has been based on planning: for example, a leader of retreating scouts will put four men in a wood, who by appearing in the view of the enemy will lead the hostile commander to fear an ambuscade and halt for examination, while the scouts escape (pp. 127–28). There is certainly no evidence of timidity in his reckoning that four hundred men can undertake a well-planned night attack on the quarters of a thousand (pp. 159–60).

Melzo was not the inventor of anything new, but he intelligently applied the fundamentals of scientific warfare to the conditions offered by his age. With such information as he gives, the course of the seemingly slow-moving war in the Low Countries appears as one determined by the theory and equipment of the era.

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European Vernacular Works in Latin Translation

THIS ESSAY[1] is no more than a first attempt at a tentative exploration of an astonishingly wide topic. Every reader will be able to detect omissions and inadequacies for himself, but I hope that in a study such as the present no apology will be required.

A number of years ago, quite by accident, I ran across Latin translations of Niccolò Machiavelli's *Historie fiorentine*[2] (Florence, 1537) and *Discorsi*[3] ([Rome], 1531). Later on, I was able to examine a large number of such Latin versions of European vernacular works in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. I hope eventually to be able to treat the topic in full; in the meantime, the following sketch will give some idea, however inadequate, of how much and what sort of material one can expect to find.

The Renaissance and later centuries employed Latin to create in an international language an international literature which, despite all differences of race and state among its authors, should constitute a unified whole informed by a common ideal.[4] The purpose of Latin translations of European vernacular works was analogous: to make available to any cultivated reader in Europe works which might otherwise remain unknown or inaccessible to him. For a period of four and a half centuries—from 1370 to 1829—Latin was constantly so used to guarantee international circulation for a remarkable number of works (especially from English, Italian, French, German, and Spanish), dealing with theology, philosophy, ethics, political science, economics, history, biography, memoirs, the natural sciences, antiquities (general, classical, and ecclesiastical), propaganda, polemic, literary criticism, and belles-lettres. The purpose of such versions is stated unequivocally by Johannes Matthaeus Toscanus:

Mattheolus Senensis, medicus praestantissimus, Dioscoridis libros Etruscis com-

[1] Read in substance before the Classical Association of Canada at Winnipeg, Manitoba, May, 1954.

[2] Translated as *Historiae Florentinae libri octo* (Strasbourg, 1610); the first book had been translated separately much earlier by H. Turlerus (Frankfort, 1564). I have not seen A. Gerber *Niccolò Machiavelli: Die Handschriften, Augsgaben, und Uebersetzungen seiner Werke im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Gotha, 1911–13).

[3] Translated as *De republica . . . libri tres* (Leyden, 1649). For *Il Principe* (Florence, 1532), cf. *De principe libellus,* tr. S. Telius (Basel, 1560); later versions by H. Conringius (Helmstadt, 1660) and C. Langenhert (1699).

[4] Cf. Paul van Tieghem, *La littérature latine de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1944), 7.

mentariis . . . uberrime auxit, quos [the antecedent is *commentariis,* not *libros*] *postea Latine etiam convertit, ut universo orbi prodessent.*[5]

In the general field of literature and belles-lettres, translations were made most frequently from Italian and English, and in Italian it is only right and proper that we begin with the Tuscan triumvirate. Tiraboschi[6] describes Matteo Ronto,[7] a monk of Monte Oliveto near Siena (d. October 14, 1442), as the first translator of Dante; his hexameter version, begun shortly after 1392,[8] is perhaps identical with that seen in the sixteenth century at Oliveto by Lilio Gregorio Giraldi;[9] parts, at least, of Ronto's version have been printed.[10] At about the same time, in his *De fato et fortuna* (begun *ca.* 1393)[11] Coluccio Salutati inserted an hexameter version of a very brief passage of the poem;[12] how extensive a version this may represent is not at all clear. Giovanni da Serravalle (d. 1445), Ronto's contemporary, produced a translation of the *Commedia* into Latin prose, which has been printed in its entirety;[13] but other versions (and they are

[5] *Peplus Italiae* (Paris, 1578), IV, clxxix, 107 (on Pietro Mattioli). Cf. also J. A. Symonds: "[Salutati] translated a portion of the 'Divine Comedy' into Latin [verse] for its wider circulation through the learned world" (*The Renaissance in Italy* [London, 1910], II, 77)—on this translated passage cf. n. 12 below; cf. Van Tieghem, *op. cit.,* 239. Will Durant remarks that Petrarch's version of the tale of patient Griselda (cf. n. 21 below) was made "to win it a European audience" (*The Renaissance* [New York, 1953], 42). On the same version, cf. J. M. Manly: "He translated it into Latin in order to make it accessible not merely to Italians but to the whole world of educated men" (*The Canterbury Tales* [New York, 1928], 591).

[6] *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Venice, 1823), VI, iv, 1205–1206.

[7] Born in Crete of Venetian parents, he was first a soldier, then and finally a monk of Monte Oliveto, spending most of his time at and around Siena and Pistoia; R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* (Venice, 1919), 280–83. Cf. also Vittorio Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*[4] (Milan, 1949), 109, 119 (n. 54).

[8] On the date, see Sabbadini, *loc. cit.*

[9] For Giraldi's visit to the monastery where the monks preserved the manuscript *tamquam rem sacram,* cf. *Lilii Gregorii Gyraldi Opera omnia* (Leyden, 1696), II, coll. 308 G–309 A.

[10] On a fragment published by E. Cicogna in 1865, cf. T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the* [*Cornell*] *Dante Collection* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1898–1900) I, 65.

[11] On the date cf. E. Garin *Coluccio Salutati: De nobilitate legum et medicinae* (Florence, 1947), xxviii–xxix.

[12] Cf. Garin, *op. cit.,* xxxi; Francesco Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati* (Rome, 1891+), IV, 74–75; for a version by C. S. of another brief passage, cf. Koch, *loc. cit.*

[13] M. da Civezza and T. Dominichelli, eds., *Fratris Johannis de Serravalla . . . translatio et comentum* (Prato, 1891). Giovanni's commentary was written in Latin in the first place; but many Italian vernacular commentaries on Dante were translated into Latin for wider use, e.g. that of Giacopo della Lana's by the Bergamese jurist Alberico di Rosate (d. 1354). The purpose of such versions is clearly stated in the colophon—quoted by Paul Oskar Kristeller in *Cultura neolatina,* X (1950), 144, n. 19—of a manuscript of this Latinized commentary: *Explicit comentus comedie Dantis . . . compositus . . . in sermone . . . tusco; et quia tale ydioma non est omnibus notum, ideo, ad utilitatem volencium studere in ipsa comedia, transtuli . . . in gramaticali scientia literarum* [i.e., Latin] *ego Albericus de Rox(ate) . . . Pergamensis. . . .*

numerous) are for the greater part very much later and incomplete.[14]

Versions of Petrarch's Italian poems are few, casual, and unimportant, for no ascertainable reason. Cristoforo Landino (1424–1492) entitled one of his poems to Sandra *Seni senarii ad imitationem Petrarcae;*[15] this poem is not so much a translation as an extremely loose and free re-elaboration of the Petrarchan *sestina* beginning "A qualunque animale alberga in terra."[16] Actual versions of various sonnets were made a little later by Naldo Naldi[17] and Alessandro Braccesi;[18] and Filippo Beroaldo (the Elder?) had the hardihood to attempt the *Vergine bella.*[19] Sporadic translation of one or another poem continued as a belletristic exercise at least until the nineteenth century,[20] but so far as I have been able to discover, no one has ever attempted anything even approaching a complete Latin version of Petrarch's vernacular poems.

The earliest version of a tale from the *Decamerone* appears to be Petrarch's paraphrase of the tenth tale of the tenth day, once attributed to Leonardo Bruni:[21] *Epistola domini Francisci Petrarchae . . . ad dominum Johannem, Florentinum poetam, de historia Griseldis, mulieris maximae constantiae et patientiae, in praeconium omnium laudabilium mulierum* (Cologne, [1470?], with later editions [1470?] and [1473?]). Bruni himself then tried his hand at the first

[14] Cited in Koch, *op. cit.,* 63–65; a few of these versions are in elegiac couplets, one is in iambic senarii, one in Sapphic stanzas, but most are in hexameters.

[15] *Xandra* i, 7, printed in Alessandro Perosa, ed., *Christophori Landini Carmina omnia* (Florence, 1939), 10–12. The poem is not in iambic senarii, despite the title, but in thirty-nine hexameters arranged in six six-line stanzas with a three-line coda.

[16] *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca,* Giosuè Carducci and Severino Ferrari, eds. (Florence, 1899), 22–24 (no. xxii).

[17] Cf. L. Juhász, ed., *Naldus de Naldis: Elegiarum libri iii* (Leipzig, 1934), p. 7 (tr. of the *In nobil sangue*), p. 11 (of the *Se la mia vita*), p. 14 (of *L'oro e le perle*); see also Alessandro Perosa, ed., *Naldus Naldius: Epigrammaton liber* (Budapest, 1943), 12 (of the *L'aura e l'odore e 'l refrigerio e l'ombra*).

[18] Alessandro Perosa, ed., *Alexandri Braccii Carmina* (Florence, 1944), 21 (of the *Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d'Egitto*).

[19] Cf. *Paeanes Beatae virginis ex Francisci Petrarchae poemate vernaculo in latinum conversi* (i.e., by Filippo Beroaldo; Paris, 1506).

[20] Cf., for instance, *La canzone Vergine bella . . . tradotta in esametri latini dal Can. L. dalla Vecchia* (Vincenza, 1866).

[21] Cf. Laurentius Mehus, *Leonardi Bruni Epistolarum libri X* (Florence, 1741), Introd., lxxxi–lxxxii. Petrarch's *epistola* is sometimes called *De obedentia ac fide uxoria mythologia.* From Petr. *Epistulae Seniles,* XVII, i, it appears that the translation, and probably its preface (i.e., *Sen.* XVII, iii) as well, were written before April 28, 1373. Chaucer says (Prologue of *The Clerk's Tale,* 26–30) that he learned the tale of Griselda from Petrarch himself (i.e., at Padua in 1373); certainly Petrarch *was* in Padua from November, 1372, to September, 1373; but Chaucer may merely have meant that he read the story in Petrarch's version: cf. Manly, *The Canterbury Tales,* 590–91. But it is reasonably clear that Chaucer was acquainted with at least one French version of the tale: cf. A. S. Cook in *Romanic Review,* VIII (1917), 210–22. and J. B. Severs in *PMLA,* XLVII (1932), 431–52. For a convenient edition of the Italian and Latin texts, see the Chaucer Society's *Originals and Analogues* (London, 1887), 154–72.

tale of the fourth day:[22] *Leonardus Aretinus ex Boccacio vulgari Tancredi filiae Sigismundae amorem in Guiscardum transtulit in Latinum* (Mainz, [1467? 1469?]), a work which ran through nine further editions between [1472?] and [1490?], in one of which it is curiously alleged to have been translated *e Graeco.* At about the same time Pier Paolo Vergerio is said to have translated several [?] tales from the *Decamerone (quaedam ex Boccacio)* and to have written some *facetiae* himself.[23] A good deal later Jacopo Bracciolini, Poggio's son, translated the eighth tale of the tenth day into Latin;[24] the version has never, I believe, been published. It is odd that Filippo Beroaldo (the Elder?) should have chosen to translate the first tale of the fourth day into Latin elegiac verse rather than prose;[25] but the same sort of thing has happened since, for in 1562 Arthur Brooke translated Bandello's *novella* of Romeo and Juliet into English verse. Beroaldo also translated the first tale of the fifth[26] and the eighth tale of the tenth[27] day into Latin, and the second of these appeared in a further version by Matteo Bandello.[28] A group of six tales from the *Decamerone* was translated by Olimpia Morato, one of the Renaissance's most famous bluestockings, around the middle of the sixteenth century and published as an appendix to the second edition of her collected Latin works.[29] So far, I have not met any Latin versions of Boccaccio later than the sixteenth century.[30]

[22] Mehus, *op. cit.*, Introd., lxxxi.

[23] Cf. Leonard Smith, *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio* (Rome, 1934), Introd., lvii, n. 1, in which is quoted a letter, dated 1509, from Giovanni Andrea ("Favonio") Vergerio to Scipione Forteguerri (Carteromaco).

[24] Cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* (Florence, 1937), I, 122, where two inedited manuscripts are cited.

[25] *Philippi Beroaldi . . . Carmen de duobus amantibus, capite iucundum, exitu amarissimum; Fabula Tancredi ex Boccatio in latinum verso a P. Beroaldo* (Leipzig, [1501?]), with further editions in 1502, 1606, 1648, and 1651; it had already appeared in *Orationes Philippi Beroaldi* (Lyons, 1492), 139–47.

[26] *Mythica historia Ioannis Boccacii per Philippum Beroaldum . . . translata in qua ostenditur, exemplo cuiusdam adolescentis, ob mores beluinos Cymonis dicti, amorem cultorum morum esse parentem* (Leipzig, [1500?]).

[27] *Mithica historia Iohannis Boccatii . . . de Tito Gisippoque Atheniensii . . . amicitiae vim elucidans, nuper per Philippum Beroaldum . . . transversa* (Leipzig, [1500?]).

[28] *Titi Romani Egisippique Atheniensis amicorum historia in Latinum versa per F. M. Bandellum* (Milan, 1509).

[29] *Boccatii fabulae sex Latinae factae,* in *Olympiae Fulviae Moratae Opera omnia* (Basel, 1580); of these six only two had appeared in the 1570 (Basel) edition of Olimpia Morato's works; of the first of these two there is a modern recension in Silvio Pellini's *Una novella del Decamerone* (Turin, 1887). I have not been able to trace any printed edition of the (complete?) version of the *Decamerone* by Antonio d'Arezzo (late fourteenth century), paraphrased by Laurent de Premierfait; cf. A. A. Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1904), I, 97, and Gustave Reynier, *Les origines du roman réaliste* (Paris, 1912), 102.

[30] No literary versions that is; but in 1636 an anonymous translator whose interest was not in literature but in history produced a partial version: *Excerpta ex descriptione pestis quae anno 1348 Florentiae grassabatur Latine versa* (Leyden, 1636).

In later Italian literature, we find Latin versions—to mention only a few—of Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso,*[31] Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata,*[32] and Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido.*[33] Far more popular than these, however, was the Latin version of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Libro del Cortegiano,*[34] which was reprinted in 1585, 1593, 1603, 1619, and 1713. Equally popular was the Latin translation of Giovanni della Casa's courtesy-book *Il Galateo* (first Italian edition, 1559): the first Latin version was that of Nicholas Fitzherbert;[35] the later version of Nathan Chytraeus (Frankfort, 1599) was reprinted in 1628, 1630, and 1665; a third Latin version, by Ercole Francesco Dandini, appeared at Padua in 1763. In the Douce collection of the Bodleian Library is a volume (Geneva, 1590) which includes the text in Italian, Latin, French, German, and Spanish; other polyglot editions appeared at Lyons in 1598 and Montbéliard in 1615.

The earliest English author to be translated into Latin was Geoffrey Chaucer, a version of whose *Troilus and Criseyde*[36] appeared at Oxford in the seventeenth century; ordinary hexameters or elegiac couplets would have been the expected medium, but this anonymously published version of the first two books (by Sir Francis Kynaston) was in rhyme-royal. This would appear to be the only Latin version of any part of Chaucer's works; in that case, Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, who in his *De poetis nostri temporis*[37] commends the poet, along with

[31] *Orlando Furioso . . . tradotto in versi latini dal Marchese Torquato Barbolani* (2 vols.; Arezzo, 1756).

[32] *Scipii Gentilis Solymeidos libri duo priores de Torquati Tassi Italicis expressi* (London, 1584; Venice, 1585). A version of Book XVI by Guido Vanini appeared in 1623 at Vicenza.

[33] *Pastor fidus* (London, 1658); there is a copy in the Bodleian, but none in the British Museum. The vernacular original was fantastically popular in its day: Vittorio Rossi (*Battista Guarini e il Pastor fido* [Turin, 1886], 314–17) lists 110 editions between 1590 and 1828, and (317–23) lists translations into French, Spanish, English, German, modern Greek, Swedish, Dutch, Polish, and even Bergamese and Neapolitan, the great majority being far later in date than the Latin. On a musical setting of this dramatic pastoral, cf. Arnold Hartman, Jr., "Battista Guarini and Il Pastor fido," *Musical Quarterly,* XXXIX (1953), 414–25.

[34] *Balthasaris Castalionis . . . de curiali sive aulico libri quattuor, ex Italico sermone in Latinum conversi, Bartholomaeo Clerke . . . interprete* (London, 1571).

[35] *Ioannis Casae Galatheus sive de moribus liber Italicus, a Nicolao Fierberto Anglo Latine expressus* (Rome, 1595); *Fierbertus* for "Fitzherbert" is no more remarkable than *Tribrachius* for "de 'Tirimbocchi" or *Acutus* for "Hawkwood." Another courtesy-book (from which "George Washington's 57 Rules of Behaviour" is lineally descended) is *Bienséance de la conversation entre les hommes,* compiled by the students of the Jesuit college of La Flèche, of which the Latin version is entitled *Communis vitae inter homines scita urbanitas,* tr. Léonard Perin ("W stare Praze" [?], 1629; 2d ed., 1661); a new and enlarged version of Perin's translation appeared in *Schola urbanitatis* (London, 1652). The "57 Rules" is adapted from F. Hawkins' English version of 1646.

[36] *Amorum Troili et Criseidae libri duo priores anglico-latini* (Oxford, 1635).

[37] Karl Wotke, ed., *Lilius Gregorius Giraldus: De poetis nostri temporis* (Berlin,

Wyatt *(Viatus),* must (if he had really read him at all) have understood Late Middle English; of course, it is always possible that he had read a Latin version, now lost, in manuscript. Earlier than Kynaston, Theodore Bathurst had prepared a Latin version of Spenser's *Shepheards Calender*[38] which, however, was not actually printed until 1653 (second edition, 1732). Shakespeare's "sugred sonnets" had to wait until the twentieth century for their translation into Latin.[39]

Most of the works of Francis Bacon were written and published in Latin in the first place; but for the benefit of Continental readers the English works had to be translated: his *Advancement of Learning*[40] (first English edition, 1605) finally made an appearance in Latin after some understandable delay, but the twenty-year gap between the publication (1622) of the first English edition of his *Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh* and that of the Latin translation[41] is less easy to understand. Eventually a collected edition of versions from Bacon's English writings appeared simultaneously at Copenhagen and Leipzig.[42]

Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* was translated into Latin ten years after its first English printing;[43] the translator was himself an Englishman, but it is clear that his work was intended primarily for Continental readers.[44]

John Milton's *Paradise Lost* would seem a standing challenge to the ambitious translator, and as a matter of fact many attempts have been

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1894), 63. I have not been able to find a record of any French or Italian version that Giraldi could have seen.

[38] Immerito (pseud.), *The Shepheards Calender* (London, 1597), with Latin translation in manuscript by T. B. in the British Museum copy; the version appears in print for the first time in Spenser, *The Shepheards Calender* (London, 1653).

[39] Alfred Thomas Barton, *Gulielmi Shakespeare Carmina* (London, 1913; 2d ed., 1923).

[40] *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum libri IX,* ed. William Rowley (London, 1623). Book I of the Latin text is a fairly close translation of Book I of the English edition of 1605; but Books II to IX are an expansion of the 1605 Book II: the whole Latin text was prepared under the close and careful supervision of Bacon himself. Other editions of the expanded text appeared elsewhere in 162[4], 1624, 1635, 1645, 1652, 1654, 1694, and 1779, and it was eventually translated into English by Gilbert Wats.

[41] *Francisci Baconi . . . Historia regni Henrici septimi* (Leyden, 1642).

[42] *Francisci Baconi . . . Opera omnia, cum novo eoque insigni augmento tractatuum hactenus ineditorum et ex idiomate Anglicano in Latinum sermonem translatorum opera Simonis Johannis Arnoldi* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1694).

[43] Browne's work circulated in manuscript copies before it was printed, first surreptitiously in 1642, then in an authorized form in 1643. In a recent critical edition (Cambridge, Eng., 1953) J. J. Denonain bases his text on the eight known manuscripts as well as on the printed editions from 1642 to 1685.

[44] *Religio medici, cum annotationibus* (Strasbourg, 1652): the author of the translation was John Merryweather; the writer of the commentary signed himself L.N.M.E.M., apparently Levinus Nicolaus Moltkenius, eques Misniensis. A second edition appeared, at [Zurich?] in 1743.

made at a Latin version, one of the earliest being Michael Bold's,[45] which, however, goes no farther than the first book; the Scottish Latinist and religious poet, William Hogg, produced complete versions of *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes, Lycidas,* and *Comus,* a tremendously ambitious undertaking which appears to have enjoyed no little success.[46] Milton's contemporary John Cleveland, called "that rare Colum of Parnassus," wrote an ode entitled "On the Memory of Mr. Edward King, drown'd in the Irish Sea"; this (naturally) was published along with Milton's *Lycidas,* both poems being provided with a free Latin translation;[47] no other of Cleveland's works was so translated.

Translations of works of eighteenth-century English literature are rather a mixed bag. Some are serious attempts to present the Continental reader with the work, or part of the work, of a major English author, as are the many versions of individual poems by John Dryden,[48] Alexander Pope,[49] and Thomas Gray,[50] or of monographs by Richard Bentley;[51] others, however, are *jeux d'esprit,* squibs, or belletristic exercises in verse-composition, such as Vincent Bourne's version[52] of John Gay's "Sweet William's Farewell to Black-Ey'd Susan" and of various songs,[53] or reprints of the highly popular version of "Drunken Barnabees Four Journeys" (i.e., to the North of England),[54] with editions in 1638, 1716, 1723, 1778, 1805, and 1822. On

[45] *Paradisus omissus . . . Latine redditus per Michaelem Bold, Liber primus* (London, 1702; 2d ed., 1736).

[46] *Paraphrasis poetica in tria Johannis Miltoni . . . poemata, viz. Paradisum amissum, Paradisum recuperatum, et Samson Agonistem, autore G. Hogaeo* (London, 1690); *Comoedia Joannis Miltoni . . . paraphrastice reddita a G. Hogaeo* (London, 1698); on *Lycidas,* see n. 47.

[47] *Paraphrasis latina in duo poemata, quorum alterum a Miltono, alterum a Clievelando anglice scriptum fuit, autore G. Hogaeo* (London, 1694).

[48] *Vis Musicae; sive Alexandri Convivium,* tr. William Bally, in E. Popham, *Selecta poemata Anglorum Latina* (Bath, 1774–76); cf. also *Absalon et Achitophel: Poema Latino carmine donatum,* by Francis Atterbury and Francis Hickman (Oxford, 1682).

[49] *Alexandri Pope de arte critica . . . carmine latino reddere tentavit J. J. Collenbusch* (Stuttgart, 1782); an earlier version had already appeared: *Tentamen de re critica . . . Latine nunc emittente Ushero Gahagan* (London, 1747).

[50] *Elegia scripta in coemeterio rustico, Latine reddita,* tr. C. Anstey (Cambridge, 1762); other versions appeared in London (1776), Verona (1817), Edinburgh (1877), and elsewhere.

[51] His epoch-making *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* (London, 1697) appeared as *Richardi Bentleii Dissertatio de Phalaridis . . . aliorumque epistolis, . . . omnia ex anglico in latinum sermonem convertit Ioannes Daniel a Lennep* (Groningen, 1777); his *The Folly and Unreasonableness of Atheism* (London, 1693), as *Stultitia et irrationabilitas atheismi* (Berlin, 1696), tr. Daniel Ernest Jablonski.

[52] *Gulielmus Susannae valedicens* (London, 1731); some of Gay's *Fables* (2 vols.; London, 1727–28), incidentally, appeared in Latin: *Fabulae selectae auctore Johanne Gay, Latine redditae,* by C. Anstey (London, [1777]; 2d ed., 1798).

[53] Vincent Bourne, *Three Songs in English and Latin* ([London?, 1748?]).

[54] *Barnabees Journall, under the Names of Mirtilus and Faustulus shadowed: for the travellers solace lately published . . . by Corymbaeus* [i.e., Richard Brathwait]: *Barnabae*

the whole, greater emphasis is given in the eighteenth century, as in the seventeenth, to the translation of technical, theological, and (especially) scientific works.

In the nineteenth century translation of imaginative works was (and is today) largely limited to academic prose and verse composition. Those versions which reach print at all are likely to be either contributions to such collections as *Cambridge Compositions* (edited by E. D. Archer-Hind and R. D. Hicks, 1904) or *Some Oxford Compositions* (edited by J. G. Barrington-Ward and others, 1949) or curiosities such as W. C. A. Ker's version of an unpublished "Priapic" ballad believed to be by Thackeray[55] rather than an attempt to present an entire large work, such as the 1913 version of Shakespeare's sonnets mentioned earlier.

There are, it is true, rather more translations from the literatures of Italy and England than from those of any other European countries; a sizable monograph, however, could be written on Latin versions made from Portuguese, Spanish, German, and French. I shall necessarily content myself with indicating only a few samples.

In Portuguese, for instance, there are both earlier[56] and later[57] versions of the *Lusiads* of Luiz de Camões, the epic poem (first published in 1572) celebrating the exploits of Vasco da Gama, *Lusiadas inter celeberrimus unus* (Ubertino Carrara, *Columbus,* III, 576).

The earliest Spanish work translated is the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea,* later called *La Celestina,* variously attributed to Ferdinando de Rojas, Rodrigo de Cotas, and Juan de Menda.[58] It was translated into Italian (1506), German (1520), French (1542), Dutch (1574), and English (1631): for once, all the vernacular translations antedate the Latin.[59] It is rather astonishing that no Renaissance Latin

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Itinerarium, Mirtili et Faustuli nominibus insignitum (London, 1638). The 1778 edition contains in addition a Latin version of the ballad "Chevy Chase," of which an earlier translation had already been made (though not, I believe, published) in the sixteenth century: *Chevy-Chase, a ballad, in Latin verse by H. Bold* (London, 1818).

[55] *Auctoris ignoti carmen priapeium . . . denuo perpetua annotatione illustravit atque in lucem edidit A. B. C. in Coll. SS. Trinit. apud Cant. olim discipulus* (1896); this I have not seen, nor have I been able to learn its place of publication.

[56] *Lusiadum libri decem, authore . . . Thoma de Faria* [a very free version by the Bishop of Targa] (Lisbon, 1622).

[57] *A Lusiada: Traduzida em versos latinos por Frei Francisco de Santo Agostinho Macedo: Primeira edicão revista por Antonio José Viale . . . Publicado por Venancio Deslandes* (Lisbon, 1880).

[58] *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea: Enla qual se contiene de mas de su agradable y dulce estilo muchas sentencias filosofales: y avisos muy necessarios para mancebos* (Seville, 1499).

[59] The Latin version bears the overpowering title, *Pornoboscodidascalus Latinus: De lenonum, lenarum, conciliatricum, servitiorum dolis, veneficiis, machinis plusquam diabolicis, de miseriis invenus incautorum . . . liber plane divinus, lingua Hispanica ab*

translation appears of Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra's *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Part 1: Madrid, 1605; Part 2: Madrid, 1615), especially considering how popular were such fantastic works in original Latin as those of the unfrocked monk Teofilo Folengo; however, the translator of the twentieth-century version of the first nineteen chapters of Part 1 appropriately used Folengo's medium—Macaronic Latin.[60] None of Cervantes' comedies was translated (so far as I know) and only one *(El Licenciado Vidriera)* of the *Novelas Ejemplares: Phantasio-Cratumenos; sive Homo Vitreus* (tr. Gaspar Ens; printed in *Epidorpidum libri IV* [Cologne, 1648–59]).

As for other European countries, let me refer only in passing to translations of various Icelandic sagas,[61] of *Reynard the Fox,*[62] of *Till Eulenspiegel,*[63] of Sebastian Brant's *Das narren schyeff,*[64] of La Fontaine's *Fables,*[65] and of Voltaire's *Henriade.*[66]

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incerto auctore instar ludi conscriptus Celestinae titulo . . . Caspar Barthius . . . Latio transcribebat (Frankfort, 1624).

[60] *Historia domini Quijoti Manchegui traducta in Latino-macarronicum per Ignatium Calvum* (Madrid, 1905). Incidentally, Folengo's influence on Rabelais (as is well known) was considerable; it is all the more odd, then, that no Latin version of any part of Rabelais' works exists.

[61] Cf. *Fortissimorum pugilum Egilli et Asmundi historiam . . . illustravit P. Salamus* (Stockholm, 1693), in Icelandic, Swedish, and Latin; and *Saugu Asmundar, er kalladur er Kappabani, eller Asmunds Kappabanes Saga, hoc est: Narratio historica rerum . . . gestarum ab Asmundo, cui strenua dextra cognomen . . .*, ed. J. F. Peringskiöld (Stockholm, 1722), in the same three languages. Cf. also the Latin version of the *Lilia* or *Lilium* (a poem in praise of the Virgin Mary) of Eysteinn Asgrímsson (*fl.* 1350): *Eysteins Asgrimssonar Lilia, cum versione latina, ed. Finnr Jónsson* (Stockholm, 1773); an edition in French, with J. M. Baudouin's Latin version, appeared in 1859.

[62] *Opus poeticum, de admirabili fallacia et astutia Vulpeculae Reinekes, libri quattuor . . . ex idiomate Germanico . . . Latinitate donati . . . auctore H. Schoppero* (Frankfort, 1567); the edition of 1674 is entitled *Speculum vitae aulicae.*

[63] *Ein kurtzweilig leren von Dyl Ulenspiegel . . . wie er sein leben volbracht hat; XCVI seiner geschichten* (Strasbourg, 1515), translated as *Triumphus Humanae Stultitae, vel Tylus Saxo, nunc primum Latinitate donatus ab I. Nemo* (Utrecht, 1558; 2d ed., 1563) and again as *Noctuae Speculum: omnes res memorabiles . . . Tyli Saxonici . . . : nunc primum ex idiomate Germanico Latinitate donatum authore A. Periandro* (Frankfort, 1567).

[64] *Das narren schyeff* (Nuremberg, 1494); *Stultifera navis: Narragonicae profectionis numquam satis laudata navis . . . per Iacobum Locher . . . in Latinum traducta eloquium, et per Sebastianum Brant denuo seduloque revisum* (Basel, 1497). Alexander Barclay's famous version, *The Shyp of folys of the worlde* (translated, according to the title-page, "out of Laten, Frenche, and Doche"), was prepared in 1508 and published in London in 1509; the 1570 edition is described as translated *e Latino sermone* only. The Latin version expands the German text considerably; Barclay's English text is twice as long as the Latin and three times as long as the original German.

[65] First French edition, 1668; *Quaedam Fontani Fabulae senariis versibus redditae,* by S. F. Bertrand (Nantes, 1749); *Fabulae selectae, e Gallico in Latinum conversae,* by J. B. Giraud (Rouen, 1765).

[66] *Voltarii Henriados libri decem . . . auctore Calcio Cappavalle* [i.e., N. de Caux Cappeval] (Frankenthal, 1775).

One of the richest fields of this literature of translation is the area of history, biography, political propaganda, antiquities, geography, and exploration; here, too, a sizable monograph could easily be prepared—even a check list of the materials extant would assume quite formidable proportions. I should point out that the following discussion is not intended to be anything like complete.

In history proper, the works most commonly met are translations from Italian of works dealing with the political and military history of the various Italian states and those dealing with the Italo-Turkish wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Typical of the first group is the version—made by the Italian Protestant reformer Caelius Secundus Curio, editor of Olimpia Morato's Latin works—of Francesco Guicciardini's history of his own times[67] or Johannes Nicolaus Stupanus' translation of Pandolfo Collenuccio's history of Naples.[68] An early example of the second type is the Latin version of Paolo Giovio the Elder's *Commentari delle cose de' Turchi* (Venice, 1531), produced in the same year as the vernacular original but (presumably) circulated only in manuscript for the first nineteen years,[69] like Bathurst's version of Spenser's *Shepheards Calender.* A similar work is the translation of Giovanni Pietro Contarini's *Historia delle cose successe dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim Ottomano a' Venetiani fino al di della gran giornata vittoriana contra Turchi* (Venice, 1572).[70]

In the field of French history, perhaps the most interesting translation is that of the memoirs of Philippe de Comines, Seigneur d'Argenton: the French original was in two parts,[71] the translations of

[67] *L'historia d'Italia di Francesco Guicciardini* (Florence, 1561), a work of 1299 pages; *Francisci Guicciardini . . . historiarum sui temporis libri XX ex Italico in Latinum sermonem . . . conversi . . . Caelio Secundo Curione interprete* (2 parts; Basel, 1566). There are a number of versions of excerpts from the history, most of them published during the seventeenth century.

[68] *Compendio dell'historie del regno di Napoli* (Venice, 1543); *Historiae Neapolitanae . . . libri sex . . . omnia ex Italico sermone in Latinum conversa, Joanne Nicolao Stupano, Rheto, interprete* (Basel, 1572). The same version appeared with Giovanni Pontano's (original Latin) history of the Neapolitan War in a volume—of which there is a copy in the Bodleian but none in the British Museum or Bibliothèque Nationale—published in Durdrecht in 1618. Simon Schardius had earlier translated part of Collenuccio's history as *Friderici Iunioris, huius nominis secundi, imperatoris vita,* printed in P. della Vigne, *Petri de Vineis Epistolarum libri sex* (Basel, 1566).

[69] *Turcicarum rerum commentarius Pauli Iovii, episcopi Nucerini, ad Carolum V, ex Italico Latinus factus, Francisco Bassianate interprete, M.D.XXXI* (Strasbourg, 1550). There is a Latin translation from Giovio published at Wittenberg in 1537 entitled *De rebus gestis et vitis imperatorum Turcarum:* this I have not seen, and have no idea whether or not it is identical with the above version of the *Commentari.*

[70] *Ioannis Petri Contarini . . . Historiae de bello nuper Venetis a Selimo II Turcarum Imperatore allato, liber unus . . . conversus a Ioanne Nicolao Stupano* (Basel, 1573; 2d ed., 1584).

[71] The first is *Cronique et histoire faicte et composee par feu messire Phelippe de*

which appeared both separately[72] and as a single work bound with Sleidanus' Latin version of the chronicles of Jean Froissart;[73] later on, a further translation of both parts of the memoirs was published by the ever-industrious Caspar Barth.[74] Another French example—chosen quite at random—is the version[75] of Bossuet's unfinished universal history.[76]

By and large the biographies translated into Latin tend to be by or of Italians and tend, also, to be religious and didactic in tone; many, indeed, could more properly be termed works of propaganda, and as a matter of fact I shall postpone mention of the biographies of the Blessed Edmund Campion until that classification is reached.

An early and characteristic example of Latinized biography is the translation by Andrea Dudith (Bishop of Tina; later Bishop of Chonad and finally of Fünfkirchen in Hungary) of Lodovico Beccadelli's biography (the vernacular original is earlier than 1563) of Cardinal Reginald Pole,[77] later Archbishop of Canterbury, the close friend of such Italian humanist reformers as Marcantonio Flaminio and Alvise Priuli. Similar is Arnold de Raisse's translation[78] of Francisco de Castro's *Historia de la vida . . . de Juan de Dios, y de la institución de su orden, y principio de su hospital*[79] (Granada, 1588). A most inter-

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Commines . . . contenant les choses advenues durant le reyne du roy Loys unziesme, tant en France, Bourgogne, Flandres, Arthois, Angleterre que Espaigne, et lieux circonvoisins, nouvellement reueue et corrigee ([Paris], 1524); other editions appeared at least in 1561 and 1574. The second is *Croniques du roy Charles huytiesme de ce nom . . . contenant la verite des faictz et gestes dignes de memoire dudict seigneur, quil feist en son voiage de Naples et de la conqueste dudit royaume de Naples* (Paris, 1528).

[72] Part I: *De rebus Ludovici, ejus nominis undecimi, Galliarum regis, et Caroli Burgundiae ducis . . . commentarii . . . Ex Gallico facti Latini, a Ioanne Sleidano* (Strasbourg, 1545); Part II: *Philippi Cominaei, equitis, de Carolo Octavo Galliae rege, et bello Neapolitano commentarii, Ioanne Sleidano interprete* (Strasbourg, 1548); later editions appeared in 1561 and 1780.

[73] *Duo Gallicarum rerum scriptores nobilissimi . . . a J. Sleidano e Gallico in Latinum sermonem conversi* (Frankfort, 1584). Golding's English version of 1608 is from Latin, not French. The first edition of the Froissart version appeared in Paris in 1537.

[74] *Philippi Cominaei . . . Commemorationum rerum gestarum dictarumque Ludovici undecimi et Caroli octavi . . . libri octo: Caspar Barthius exemplar Gallicum . . . Latinitati transscribebat* (Frankfort, 1629).

[75] *Epitome universae historiae ab orbe condito ad Carolum Magnum, a Jacobo Benigno Bossueto gallice conscripta, et ab Emmanuele Parthenaeo latine reddita* (Coimbra, 1827).

[76] His *Discours sur l'histoire universelle à Monseigneur le Dauphin* (Paris, 1681) broke off at A.D. 800; two further volumes (by Jean de la Barre) brought the work from 800 to 1687 and from 1688 to 1713. Bossuet's is not the only Latinized universal history; at the close of the seventeenth century Johann Friedrich Cramer published *Samuelis Puffendorfii Introductio ad historiam europaeam* (Utrecht, 1693).

[77] *Vita Reginaldi Poli Britanni, S. R. E.* [i.e., *Sacrae Romanae Ecclesiae*] *Cardinalis et Cantuarensis Archiepiscopi, ex Italico Latina reddita ab Andrea Dudithio* (Venice, 1563). Beccadelli was bishop of Ravello and then of Ragusa.

[78] *Vita Beati Ioannis a Deo: Item, Petri Peccatoris eiusdem ordinis religiosi . . . Latinitate donata ab Arnoldo de Raisse* (Douay, 1623); another Latin version was made by Martinus Serrus (Ingolstadt, 1625).

[79] I.e., the *Hospital de Juan de Dios de Granada,* of which De Castro was rector.

esting specimen of the type is Théodore de Bèze's version of Niccolò Balbani's sixteenth-century biography of Galeazzo Caracciolo;[80] this Latin version was later translated into English as *Newes from Italy of a Second Moses; or, the Life of Galeacius Caracciolus, the noble Marquesse of Vico; written by reverend Beza, and for the benefit of our people put into English* (London, 1608). Many translation-biographies, especially in the seventeenth century, reflect Jesuit influence on education, being either about Jesuits—as is true of the Latin versions[81] of Virgilio Cepari's biographies of Luigi Gonzaga (Rome, 1606), St. Francesco Borgia, third General of the Society of Jesus (vernacular original earlier than 1626), or Johann Berchman (original earlier than 1630)—or translated by Jesuits, as is true of the version[82] of Buonaventura Cavallo's *Vita del Beato Niccolò Albergati, Cardinale di Santa Croce* (Rome, 1654).

Translations of secular biographies do exist, however, and were produced over a considerable period; while they appear to have been not nearly so numerous as the religious and didactic variety, they are of a decidedly more rewarding nature. The earliest of which I know (so far) is Naldo Naldi's version[83] (if it can be so called) of Vespasiano da Bisticci's life of the humanist Giannozzo Manetti; it is rather astonishing that more of the great Italian biographer's work was not made better known in Europe by this means. A work which perhaps ought to be considered religious and political propaganda rather than biography pure and simple is the highly prejudiced and understand-

[80] *Galeacci Caraccioli Vici Marchionis Vita, qua constantiae vere Christianae exemplar rarum proponitur* ([Geneva?], 1596). Théodore de Bèze, whom James Laing of the Sorbonne called *omnium haereticorum nostri temporis facile princeps,* was the subject of a biography by Jérôme Hermes de Bolsec, or Bolzec (Paris, 1582), which was also translated into Latin: *Historia de vita, moribus, doctrina, et rebus gestis Theodori Bezae . . . Latine reddita per Pantaleonem Theveninum* (Ingolstadt, 1584); Laing also published a Latin version of the same work (Paris, 1585). Bolsec's earlier biography of John Calvin (Paris, 1577) was translated into Latin by Laing: *Historia de vita et moribus atque morte Johannis Calvini,* published in his *De vita et moribus atque rebus gestis haereticorum nostri temporis* (Paris, 1581) and separately the following year (Cologne, 1582).

[81] (i) *De vita beati Aloysii Gonzagae . . . libri tres* (Cologne, 1608; 2d ed., 1609): (ii) *Res a Francisco Borgia . . . gestae, quas e V. Ceparii . . . compendio . . . Andreas Schottus . . . Latine conscripsit* (Cologne, 1626); (iii) *Vita Ioannis Berchmanni, flandro-belgae religiosi Societatis Jesu . . . Latine reddita a P. Hermanno Hugone* (Antwerp, 1630). There does not appear to be any Latin version of his *Vita della serafica vergine S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi,* which (so far as I know) remained in manuscript until 1884.

[82] *Vita Beati Nicolai Albergati . . . conversa a reverendo P. Lud. I. e Societate Iesu* [i.e., Louis Janin] (Paris, 1659).

[83] Lodovico A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* XX, 519 ff.; but it is a translation only in the sense that Landino's *Seni senarii* is a translation of Petrarch (cf. n. 15 above), and the *Enciclopedia italiana* more properly calls it a *classeghiante rielaborazione* of Vespasiano's work.

ably anonymous life (by Henri Estienne the Younger? De Bèze? De Serres? Pithou?) of the Queen-Consort of Henry II of France, Catherine de Médicis, *Discours merveilleux de la vie, actions, et deportemens, de Catherine de Medicis, Royne mere; auquel sont recitez les moyens qu'elle a tenu pour usurper le gouvernement du Royaume de France et ruiner l'estat d'iceluy* ([Geneva?], 1575); the Latin version[84] is equally anonymous. But to the English-speaking reader by far the most interesting of these translation-biographies is the Latin translation[85] of the life of her husband written by the heroic Duchess of Newcastle, Margaret Cavendish: *The Life of the Thrice Noble Prince, William Cavendish, Duke and Earl of Newcastle* (London, 1667).

Closely allied to history and biography is the translation-literature of propaganda, polemic, vilification, and self-justification, again (for obvious reasons) a fertile field, which flourished most vigorously in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The intention of Toussaint Berchet's translation[86] of Henry of Navarre's declarations is clearly propagandist, as is the anonymous (?) version of his own work justifying Henry's claim to the French throne.[87] Some of Henry's opponents used methods more direct than argument: Jean Châtel, a student at a Jesuit college, attempted to assassinate him[88] (later on, Pierre Barrière, allegedly at the instigation of the Jesuits, repeated the attempt on the King's life). Châtel was executed, but an anonymous French *apologia* was translated into the international language to justify his act in the eyes of European Catholics.[89] So, too, in other countries we find numerous *pièces justificatives* turned into Latin by industrious translators for an identical reason. We may instance Johann Messenius' Latin version[90] of Nicolaus Chesnecopherus' ponderous

[84] *Catherinae Mediceae Reginae matris vitae, actorum, et consiliorum . . . stupenda . . . narratio* ([Geneva], 1575).

[85] *De vita et rebus gestis nobilissimi illustrissimique Principis Gulielmi Ducis Novocastrensis commentarii* (London, 1668); the unnamed translator was Walter Charleton, whose English romance *The Ephesian Matron* (London, 1659)—a story which first appears in western European literature in the *Satyricon* of Petronius—was translated into Latin by Bartholomew Harris as *Matrona Ephesia, sive lusus serius de amore* (London, 1665).

[86] *Tres Regis Navarraei declarationes, quas ad tres Gallici Regni ordines habuerat . . . omnia Latine per T. Berchetum reddita* (Sedan, 1589).

[87] *Explicatio controversiarum quae a nonnullis moventur de Henrici Borbonii regis in regnum Franciae constitutione* (Sedan, 1590).

[88] Cf. Jacques Bongars, *Quaestio parricidii a Johanne Chastel . . . attentati in Henricum IV* (Paris, 1595); original Latin, not a translation.

[89] F. de Vérone (pseud.), *Jesuita sicarius, hoc est Apologia pro J. Castello* (Lyons, 1611).

[90] *Exegesis historica, non minus aequas, quam graves memorans causas quibus amplissimi Ordines regni Sueciae provocati Sigismundum Tertium regem Poloniae . . . Suecano exuerunt diademate; et D. Carolum IX Suecorum regem, una cum subsequutura S.R.M.* [i.e., *Serenae Regiae Majestatis*] *liberorum legitima propagine, pro suis, et totius regni Sueciae regibus subrogarunt, atque coronarunt* (Stockholm, 1615; 2d ed., 1620).

tract[91] justifying the expulsion of Sigismund III of Poland from Sweden and the choice of Charles IX as king. Charles X in turn found it expedient to justify publicly one of his decisions;[92] the other side replied with equal indignation,[93] and both pieces of self-justification found their way into Latin.

More interesting than these belligerent or querulous productions, and written in far better Latin, are the versions of a couple of treatises by Elizabeth I's minister, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Cecil, like more than one Englishman before and since his time, was quietly and firmly convinced of the natural superiority of all things English, and in particular of the surpassing excellence of English law. This belief he expressed at some length in a treatise called *The Execution of British Justice* (London, 1583), which, when translated into Latin and published the following year, was appropriately combined with a Latin version of the same author's *A Declaration of the favorable dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners appointed for the Examination of certaine Traitours* (London, 1583). The subtitle of the double volume—published as *Iustitia Britannica* (London, 1584; 2d ed., 1584; 3d ed., 1682)—emphasized the fact that the proceedings against these men and the tortures inflicted on them were undertaken not *ob religionem* but *ob proditionem;* the same point is frequently made in William Camden's Latin version of the court proceedings against Henry Garnett,[94] the "martyr of the confessional," and alleged accomplice of Guy Fawkes in the plot of November, 1605. James' son Charles also appears in this literature of translation: at least one of his own productions[95] was put into Latin,[96] as were various Royalist

[91] *Sanfärdigh historia och berättelse, för hwadh orsaker samptlige Sweriges rijkes ständer hafwe affsagdt konung Sigismundum* (Stockholm, 1617); Dr. Hans Ronimois translates this title literally for me as "A true history and narrative [of] for what causes all estates of the Swedish realm have rejected King Sigismund."

[92] *Ursachen wodurch eigentlich die koenigl. Mayst. zu Schweden bewogen worden, den Hertzog von Churland auss seinem Fuerstenthumb hinweg in Verwahrung zu ziehen,* by Christopher Habbaeus von Lichtenstern ([?], 1659), translated as *Causae quibus S. R. M. Sueciae mota celsissimum Curlandiae ducem in custodiam abstraxit,* tr. P. J. Coyet [?, 1660?].

[93] *A relation of the horrid injuries committed by the King of Sweden upon the Duke of Curland, his Dutches, and seven children, together with the Duke's Vindication from the Swedish calumnies: Defensio Principis Curlandiae Suevorum calumniis apposita* [the whole in English and Latin] (London, 1659).

[94] *Actio in H. Garnetum . . . et caeteros qui . . . Britanniae Magnae Regem et Regni Angliae Ordines pulvere fulminali e medio tollere coniurarunt: . . . Omnia ex Anglico a G. Camdeno Latine versa* (London, 1607).

[95] *His Maiesties Reasons against the pretended Iurisdiction of the High Court of Iustice, which he intended to deliver in Writting on Munday Ianuary 22, 1648* [old style]; *Faithfully transcribed out of the originall copie under the King's own hand* ([?], 1648 o.s.).

[96] *Rationes . . . serenissimi Caroli,* του μακαρίτου μεγαλομάρτυρος, *contra affectatum Curiae (quae dicebatur) Iustitiae jurisdictionem,* tr. Thomas Price, Dean of Salisbury [?, 1690?].

tracts—all strongly propagandist, of course—on his death,[97] and even the *Eikon Basilike,* once thought to be written by Charles I himself, but now generally considered to be the work of John Gauden, successively bishop of Exeter and Worcester.[98] One would expect to find a swarm of versions of propagandist tracts published by Royalists in Holland, deploring the exile of Charles II; but there appear to be none. James II, however, does put in an appearance, in a version of an anonymous work entitled *An Enquiry into the nature and obligations of Legal Rights: with respect to the popular pleas of the late King James's remaining right to the Crown* (London, 1693).[99] Fifty years later, the Stuarts make their final appearance in the literature of translation, in a Latin version of Edward Bentham's *A Letter to a Young Gentleman of Oxford* (Oxford, 1749; 2d ed., 1749; 3d ed., 1749), a solemn warning against support of the Jacobites.[100]

In the field of historical antiquities it is only natural that treatises on ecclesiastical antiquities should sooner or later find their way into Latin; I shall refer to one example only, a version of a work on church finance by *el Doctor Navarro, Martín de Azpilcueta: Tractado de las rentas de los beneficios ecclesiasticos* (Valladolid, *a costa del author,* 1566).[101]

General antiquities—or what we might by oxymoron call "contemporary" antiquities—appear far more frequently. Especially noteworthy (particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) are translations of works on heraldry and family history, as for instance those of Jean Jacques Chifflet[102] (a prolific Latin author in his own right), Filippo Buonanni,[103] and C. L. Hugo;[104] almost as common are

[97] *Sylloge variorum tractatuum anglico quidem idiomate et ab auctoribus Anglis conscriptorum sed in linguam Latinam translatorum, quibus Caroli . . . regis innocentia illustratur et parricidium injustissime et immanissime in illum perpetratum a Pseudo-Parlamento . . . luce clarius declaratur,* tr. "I. V. A. R." (Amsterdam, 1649).

[98] Εἰκὼν Βασιλική: *The Portraicture of His Sacred Maiestie in his solitudes and sufferings* [London], 1648 o.s.) translated by John Earle as Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, *vel Imago Regis Caroli, in illis suis aerumnis et solitudine* (The Hague, 1649): on the various Latin editions, cf. F. M. Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike* (London, 1950), 50–53.

[99] *Inquisitio in naturam et obligationem Iurium Legalium cum respectu ad populares praetextus residui penes nuperum Regem Iacobum iuris ad coronam Angliae . . . Ex Anglicano in Latinum conversa* (London, 1694).

[100] Published in an abridged form (same English title) with a Latin translation by William King (London, 1749).

[101] *Apologia: libri de reditibus* [*sic*] *ecclesiasticis,* tr. the author (Antwerp, 1574).

[102] *Insignia gentilitia equitum ordinis Velleris Aurei, fecialium verbis enuntiata . . . Latine et Gallice producta; Le Blason des armoires de tous les chevaliers de la Toison d'Or* (Antwerp, 1632; 2d ed., 1688).

[103] *Ordinum equestrium et militarium catalogus in imaginibus expositus,* with 166 plates, and descriptions in Italian and Latin (Rome, 1711; 3d ed., 1724).

[104] *Histoire de la maison des Salles . . . Avec les preuves de la généalogie de cette maison* (Nancy, 1716), sometimes attributed—wrongly—to Augustin de Calmet, some

versions of vernacular descriptions of the topography of cities, as of Messina,[105] Catania,[106] Piazza, [107] and many others, most of which were gathered into the huge folio collections of Johann G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae* and *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Siciliae.*

Similar to the last-mentioned type is Sigebert Havercamp's translation of the exhaustive description of the classical antiquities of Syracuse by Giacomo Buonanni e Colonna, Duke of Montalbano, *Dell'antica Siracusa illustrata . . . libri due*[108] (Messina, 1624) or Giovanni Gaetano Bottari's own Latin version of his even more massive *Il Museo Capitolino*[109] (3 vols.; Milan, 1819–21, but compiled earlier than 1750), a work which drew very heavily on Winckelmann and E. Q. Visconti. One last example from the realm of classical antiquities brings to our notice the learned and lively Scot, Dr. John Arbuthnot (the friend of Pope and Swift), a vigorous and witty pamphleteer, many of whose works are the bibliographer's despair;[110] certainly his, despite the title page of the translation, is the *Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures* (London, 1727), expanded from an earlier sketch (London, [1705?]) and eventually translated into Latin[111] on the Continent in 1756.

The topographical descriptions just referred to are far from being

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of whose works were also translated into Latin; the *Histoire* was translated, with the false attribution, as *Illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini, Domini Augustini Calmetii . . . Refutatio systematis genealogici a R. P. Marquardo Hergott . . . compositi* (Venice, 1748).

[105] Giuseppe Buonfiglio e Constanza *Messina . . . descritta in VIII libri* (Venice, 1606); *Messanae urbis . . . Descriptio: Ex Italico Latine vertit Johannes Laurentius Mosheim;* in J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antt. et histt. Sic.,* X, 1725 ff. The most industrious translators of topographies were Mosheim and Havercamp.

[106] Pietro Carrera *Delle memorie historiche della città di Catania spiegate in tre volumi da D. Pietro Carrera* (only two volumes were actually published; Catania, 1639 and 1641); *Petri Carrerae . . . Monumentorum historicorum urbis Catanae libri quattuor . . . ex Italico . . . nunc primum Latine vertit . . . Abrahamus Preigerius;* in Graevius, *Thesaurus, Italiae,* X, 1723 ff.

[107] Giovanni Paolo Chiarandà *Piazza, città di Sicilia* (Messina, 1654); P. Joannis Pauli Chiarandae *Plutia sive Platia, civitas Siciliae . . . Ex Italico sermone latine vertit . . . Joannes Laurentius Mosheim;* in Graevius, *Thes., Sic.,* XII, 1725 ff.

[108] Jacobi Bonanni et Columnae *Syracusarum antiquarum illustratarum libri duo;* in Graevius, *Thes., Sic.,* XI, 1725 ff.

[109] *Museum Capitolinum,* 3 vols. with an additional fourth translated into Latin by N. Foggini (Rome, 1750–82).

[110] After describing *Law is a Bottomless Pit, The History of John Bull,* and *The Art of Political Lying,* George Sampson writes: "His remaining works are to be identified with difficulty, and of those known to be his some are scientific" (*Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* [Cambridge, Eng., 1941], p. 470). The false attribution in the title cited in n. 111 is due to the fact that the English original contained dedicatory verses addressed to the King by Charles Arbuthnot.

[111] *Caroli Arbuthnotii Tabulae antiquorum nummorum, mensurarum, et ponderum pretiique rerum venalium variis dissertationibus explicatae et exemplis illustratae: Ex Anglica in linguam Latinam conversae opera Danielis Koenigii* (Utrecht, 1756).

the only translations of geographical treatises; quite on the contrary, versions of geographical works are so numerous and so varied in content as to be an embarrassment. There are at least seven types of vernacular original: (i) works on geography considered purely and simply as physical science; (ii) those on historical geography; (iii) reports on resources, and descriptions of countries already reasonably well-known to Europeans; (iv) accounts of travel and personal experiences; (v) accounts of exploration and of the new discoveries of the great age in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; (vi) larger works—secondary sources—based on (v), and, finally, (vii) the De Bry collections, in which almost all the above six categories are represented.

The first two classes we may dismiss with one example each. In the late sixteenth century Antonio Berga proved that even the peaceful pursuit of geography can produce its controversies, by directing a forty-three-page pamphlet against Alessandro Piccolomini's geographical views, entitled *Discorsi . . . della grandezza dell'acqua e della terra* (Turin, 1589), which was Latinized as *Disputatio de magnificentia terrae et aquae . . . a Francisco Maria Vialardo ab Italico in Latinum sermonem conversa* (Turin, 1590). From yet another of Graevius' great folio collections we can take an example of a version of a treatise on historical geography, that of Nicolas Bergier's *Histoire des grands chemins de l'empire romain*[112] (Paris, 1628), a learned discussion, in every way typical of seventeenth-century classical scholarship, of the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (a portable road map of the third or fourth century A.D.)

From the third group it will perhaps be sufficient to cite four examples, versions of the work of a Spaniard, an Italian, a Portuguese, and an Englishman. Descriptions of the Far and Middle East and, even more, of the New World and reports on their economic resources and possibilities of exploitation were in brisk demand throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it is nothing out of the ordinary, then, to find a Latin translation of such work as Bartolomé de las Casas' descriptions of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, and Peru in his *Brevissima relación de la destruyción de las Indias*[113] (Seville, 1552). Much more important, in fact one of the major geographical works of the sixteenth century, was Giovanni Botero's *Relazioni uni-*

[112] N. Bergierii *De publicis et militaribus Imperii Romani viis libri V ex Gallica in linguam Latinam translati ab Henrico Christophoro Henninio;* in Graevius, *Thes. Rom.*, X, 1699 ff.

[113] *Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima* (Frankfort, 1598). Other Latin editions of the *Brevissima relación* were issued in Oppenheim in 1614 and at Heidelberg in 1664.

versali (Vincenza, 1595–96). Partial translations of this work appeared at intervals over a period of fifty years: the first was issued under the title *Commentariolus parallelos* (Cologne, 1597), the point being that the text described, compared, and contrasted the government, resources, and war-potential of the Spaniards and the Turks; this was followed by a partial version arranged in four books entitled *Mundus imperiorum* (Cologne, 1598), describing those countries the rulers of which styled themselves "Emperor"—the Latin version of this section proving popular, subsequent editions appeared at Lübeck in 1600, Oberursel in 1603, and Marburg in 1620. Individual *relazioni* were also extracted and translated into Latin, that on England in 1625 (by Thomas Smith, then secretary of state), that on France in 1626, on Poland in 1627, on Spain in 1629, and on Persia in 1633. Similar in intent are the translations of the Jesuit missionary Valentino Carvalho's account (in Italian, however, not Portuguese) of Japan,[114] and of Mark Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*[115] (2 vols. in 3 pts.; London, 1731–43).

Versions of accounts of personal experiences and travel (as opposed to accounts of new discoveries) are not quite so common as one might expect. Probably the earliest author represented here in the literature of translation is Marco Polo (*ca.* 1254–*ca.* 1324), whose work was translated into Latin in the fourteenth century by the priest Franciscus Pipinus, himself a traveler in the Orient.[116] Almost as early is a version of the travels of Hetoum (also spelled Haithon, Haitho, Haycon, and Hayton), "Prince of Gorigos," an Armenian priest. An account of his travels in the Middle East during the middle part of the fourteenth century was dictated to Niccolò Falconi and eventually appeared in print as *Les fleurs des hystoires de la terre Dorient: compillus par frère Haycon . . . divisees en cinq parties* (Paris, [1501?]).

[114] *De rebus in Iaponiae regno post obitum Taicosamae Iaponici monarchae gestis* (Rome, 1603), a translation of *Lettere del P. A. Valignano, visitatore della compagnia di Giesu nel Giappone e nella Cina de' 10 d'ottobre del 1599* (Rome, 1603).

[115] *Piscium, serpentium, insectorum, aliorumque nonnullorum animalium necnon plantarum . . . imagines, quas Marcus Catesby in posteriore parte splendidi illius operis quo Carolinae, Floridae, et Bahamensium insularum tradidit historiam naturalem . . . descripsit* (Nuremberg, 1777); the text is in German and Latin, and as in many such *de luxe* editions of the eighteenth century, the plates are a good deal more important than the text.

[116] Cf. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Venice, 1823), IV, i, 119–20; G. Zaccagnini, "Francesco Pipini, traduttore del 'Milione,' cronista e viaggiatore in Oriente nel secolo XIV," *Atti e Memoria della Reale Deputazione di Storia patria per l'Emilia e la Romagna,* Ser. 5, I (1935–36), 61–95 (this article I have not seen). The text of the version appears in *Novus orbis,* a collection of Latin versions of various Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese accounts of travels and voyages compiled (apparently) by Johann Huttich, with a dedicatory preface by Simon Grynaeus (Basel, 1532; frequent reprintings).

Long before this date, however, Falconi had translated the work into Latin at the urging of Clement V (in 1370); the *Liber Historiarum partium Orientis* was published at Haguenau in 1529 and reprinted at least in 1585, 1602, and 1671; the Latin version of part three *(Haithonis de Tartaris libellus)* appears in *Novus orbis,* pp. 402–448. Another travel account worth mentioning is Giosafatti Barbaro's description of travels in Persia: *Viaggio del magnifico messer Iosaphat Barbaro ambasciatore della illustrissima repubblica di Venetia alla Tana; Viaggio del Istesso Messer Iosaphat Barbaro in Persia,*[117] printed in Antonio Manuzio, *Viaggi fatti da Venetia* (Venice, 1543).

But perhaps the most remarkable works the translator could offer his European public are those of the fifth group—personal accounts of the voyages of discovery and exploration in and around Africa, India, the East Indies, Australia, and the Americas during the high Renaissance and later: of these there is a large number, although it is true that the number of omissions is almost as great.[118] One of the very earliest works represented is the account of Alvise (or Luiz) da Cadamosto (or Cà da Mosto), the Portuguese sea captain who explored the west coast of Africa from 1455 to 1457; the Latin version, prepared by Arcangelo Madrignano, eventually appeared in a collection of such versions compiled by Montalboddo Fracan—*Itinerarium Portugallensium* (Milan, 1508). Another edition of this same translation, entitled *Navigatio ad terras ignotas A. Cadamusti,* appeared in *Novus orbis,* and other editions appeared in 1532, 1537, 1550, and 1555.

It took half a century for the Latin version of Cadamosto's narrative to reach print. Not so, however, with a letter announcing the most famous discovery of the fifteenth century. On reaching Lisbon in April, 1493, Christopher Columbus dispatched a brief letter (in Spanish) to the Finance Minister (Thesaurarius) of Ferdinand and Isabella; this was immediately translated into Latin[119]—obviously in

[117] *Itineris quod reipublicae suae nomine ad Tanaim et in Persiam perfecit descriptio ex Italico in Latinum per Iacobum Geuderum ab Heroltzberga,* printed in P. Bizarrus, *Historiae rerum Persicarum* (Frankfort, 1601).

[118] I have been unable, for instance, to find Latin versions of Columbus' accounts of the second and third voyages; of John Cabot's records; of Vasco da Gama's voyages; of the explorations of Jacques Cartier in Canada in 1534, 1535, and 1547; or of those of Hernando de Soto, Samuel de Champlain in the West Indies, Mexico, and Canada, William Dampier or Captain James Cook.

[119] *Epistola Christophori Colom, cui aetas nostra multum debet, de Insulis Indiae supra Gangem nuper inventis, ad quas perquirendas octavo mense auspiciis et aere invictissimi Fernandi Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat, ad Raphael Sanxis* [called Gabriel Sanchis in the third and fourth editions] . . . *missa, quam . . . Aliander de Cosco ab Hispano ideomate* [*sic*] *in Latinum convertit, tertio Kalendas Maii M.CCCC.xciii* (Rome, [1493?]). Add here two further examples of this class: Joannes Basinus' ver-

order to give international circulation to new information of a startling kind—and printed at Rome by Stephan Plannck, who appears to have specialized in the printing of pamphlets. The letter was promptly reprinted in Basel in [1493?], again in Rome in [1493?], and in Rome in 1493, with further editions in 1494, 1533, and 1603, to say nothing of frequent reprintings in such popular collections as *Novus orbis.*

Another early explorer represented in this category is Hernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca. Cortés wrote six *Cartas de relación,* reports addressed to the Emperor Charles V in the form of letters, of which the first and fifth are now lost; the letter commonly known as the first *carta de relación* was actually written not by Cortés himself but by the judges and council of Vera Cruz, while (to add further confusion) the sixth is sometimes called the fifth. Translations of these letters, in whole or in part, appeared in Latin (1524), Italian (1524), French (1532), German (1550), Dutch (1563), and English (1843). The Latin version (which contains only the second and third *cartas*) is entitled *Praeclara Ferdinandi Cortesii de Nova Maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio, sacratissimo ac invictissimo Carolo Romanorum Imperatori . . . Anno Domini M.D.XX transmissa . . . per Doctorem Petrum saguorgnanum* [*sic*] *. . . ex Hyspano idiomate in Latinum versa Anno Domini M.D.XXIII; Tertia Ferdinandi Cortesii . . . praeclara narratio;* also translated by Savorgnano (Nuremberg, 1524).

The sixth class of geographical work consists of translations of secondary sources—large works, as a rule, and based on such writings as I have cited under the fifth group. Sometimes author and translator were the same man: after publishing his *A Summarie Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage* (2d ed.; London, 1589), Walter Bigges industriously set to work to translate it into Latin as *Expeditio Francisci Draki . . . in Indias Occidentales A. M.D.LXXXV in qua urbes Fanum D. Jacobi, D. Dominici, D. Augustini, et Carthagena captae fuere* (Leyden, 1588). A far more extensive work was Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix's *Histoire du Paraguay* (Paris, 1756), an account in three thick quarto volumes of the exploration and exploitation of this part of South America, providing, too, a great deal of information on the famous Jesuit settlement in Paraguay. In

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sion of Amerigo Vespucci's voyages in *Quattuor Americi Vespucii Navigationes* (Grueniger, 1509) and Johann Bissel's translation of Pedro Goveo de Victoria's Spanish history, *Argonauticon Americanorum, sive historiae periculorum Petri de Victoria ac sociorum eius, libri XV* (Munich, 1647; 2d ed., 1698); after his voyage to America and shipwreck on the coast of Peru, Victoria became a Jesuit, as was Bissel himself.

the Latin version of this work—it was, by the way, the only one of Charlevoix's many works on South America to be translated into Latin—it was considerably abridged, to form a single 600-page folio volume: *Historia Paraguajensis, ex Gallico Latina* (Venice, 1779).

But over such individual works as those cited above and such modest anthologies as *Novus orbis* tower the vast folio collections edited by the De Bry family in Frankfort and elsewhere: the series published between 1597 and 1628 by Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry called *India Orientalis* or *Les petits voyages* and the series published by Theodor de Bry between 1590 and 1634 called *America* or *Les grands voyages.* Of the *America,* Parts I to VI were edited by T. de Bry, Parts VII to IX by J. T. and J. I. de Bry, Parts X to XII by J. T. de Bry, and Part XIII by Matthaeus Merian, who wrote (in Latin) the preface and general description of the work as Part XIV (Frankfort, 1634).

In both collections the plan is the same: a folio volume (consisting of translations into German—from English, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, or French—of several ship captains' narratives or of one or more conflations of such accounts made by the De Brys' staff of editors) would be issued in the vernacular, with the second section of the volume (usually separately bound) appearing in Latin almost simultaneously. A few of the volumes (e.g., *Ind. Or.* I, i and ii, a description of the Congo) are collections of descriptive geographies; the great majority, however, contain narratives of exploration, and the reader's patience will now be tried with an examination of some parts of their contents, those providing accounts of English, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, and French explorers.

Among English authors and explorers we find (*Am.* I) a Latin version of a German translation of Thomas Hariot's English account of Walter Ralegh's settlement of Virginia: Richard Hakluyt's narrative is a translation of this Latin version. *America* VIII contains Latin versions of German versions of Dutch versions of Ralegh's own accounts of exploration of Guiana and of "Emereia, Arromaia, and Tobago" in 1595 and 1596, as well as versions of accounts by Pretty and Cates of the three voyages of Thomas Cavendish. *America* XIII contains a lengthy Latin description of the New England coast and hinterland, based on the accounts of Richard Whitbourne. In *America* X the appearance in Latin of the story of John Smith and Pocahontas is enough to make the most stolid reader pause:

Solida narratio de moderno statu provinciae Virginiae . . . addita historia . . .

quomodo Pokahuntas, Regis Virginiae Powhatani filia, primori cuidam Anglo nupserit, authore Ralph Hamor.

America XIII consists largely of Latin versions of German translations of Dutch originals; we might note in particular versions of an anonymous account of the voyages of Jakob Eremita, of a highly-colored tale by Pieter Hein of the interception and capture of a Spanish treasure ship, of a lurid narrative by Hendrik Cornelis Lonck of the Dutch capture of Pernambuco, and of an even more gruesome account of the Dutch siege and capture of San Salvador. There are, in fact, more translations in the two De Bry collections based on the narratives of the Dutch than on those of any other nationality; but it will be sufficient if I merely list a few of these hastily: the voyage of the "Dutch Armada" against the Canary Islands (*Am.* VIII); the voyages of Jan Hugo to India—with much adverse comment on the morals of the Portuguese already there (*Ind. Or.* II); the accounts of Willem Lodewijks and of Willem de Beer of various Dutch voyages to India, Java, and Sumatra (*Ind. Or.* III); Hugo's account of the natural history of India and a narrative of the "latest voyage of the Dutch to India";[120] a group of narratives of the voyages (1600–1603) of Jakob van Neck, Jan de Bree, Cornelis Nikolaas, Cornelis van der Veen, and Steven van Hagen (*Ind. Or.* VIII); and an account of the voyage of Spielberg to India in 1601–1604 (*Ind. Or.* VII). And so the volumes kept pouring from the De Bry presses, giving the European public a year-by-year account of the golden age of Dutch maritime expansion, with accounts gruesome, like those on Pernambuco and San Salvador, heroic, like that describing the attempt of Sebalt van Weert to fight his way through the Strait of Magellan in 1598, or tragic, like that which tells the story of Henry Hudson and his young son.

Very nearly as numerous, however, are the volumes devoted to the exploits of the equally hardy Portuguese seamen: *India Orientalis* X, for instance, delightedly records the discovery of "the fifth division of the world" (i.e. Australia) by Pedro Fernando de Queirós,[121] and *America* XIII has much to say of the same discovery; descriptions of Portuguese voyages to Brazil appear in *America* III, to the Congo in *America* I, and to the Guinea coast in *India Orientalis* VI.

The French and Spanish receive more summary treatment; but most of *America* III is devoted to the activities of the French in

[120] I.e., in 1598–99. This appeared in *Ind. Or.* IV, which was published in 1601, showing remarkable speed on the part of translator and publisher alike.

[121] Cf. J. C. Beaglehole, *The Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 1947), chap. 4.

Florida (1564) under René de Laudonnière, and accounts of the cruelties of French and Spanish buccaneers occupy much of *America* V, rivaling in their horrid detail the ghoulish stories told of Henry Morgan by Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin.

In the field of physical science the same attempt was made to provide international circulation for new ideas and new discoveries. Of course a great many European scientific works were written in Latin in the first place: no one needs to be reminded that Isaac Newton wrote his *Philosophiae naturalis principia Mathematica* in Latin; but it is perhaps not so commonly recognized that practically all zoological, medical, and mathematical works, especially on the Continent, were so written and published until the opening years of the nineteenth century. Yet those authors who consistently used the vernacular—this is especially true in chemistry—found that their works were translated into Latin (sometimes with incredible speed) and so published in Antwerp, Leyden, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Leipzig, or Frankfort (the commonest centers). This busy and (I suspect) profitable trade in translation was especially vigorous in the Netherlands and Germany during the scientific *Aufklaerung* in Restoration England; I shall, therefore, after examining translations in a few typical fields of scientific enquiry, turn to those of the works of Robert Boyle.

The history of Latin translation of medical works is continuous from at least the late fifteenth century to the nineteenth.[122] One of the earliest versions we meet is a work published in [Strasbourg?] in [1490?] called *Ortus Sanitatis*,[123] largely a compilation based on the German *Hortus Sanitatis* of Johann von Cube. The version evidently proved useful, for later editions appeared in 1491, [1498?], 1511, 1517, and 1536. Marsilio Ficino's *Consiglio contra la pestilentia* (1498) was translated into Latin by Girolamo Ricci or Riccio[124] in

[122] One of the most influential medical works ever written was not a version of a vernacular work but was written in Latin and so published, viz. the *Opera in chyrurgia* (Rome, 1514), of Joannes de Vigo (1460–1520), physician to Pope Julius II; this work ran through at least fifty-two editions in its original form and was translated almost numberless times later on. It was especially useful since it dealt at great length with the two most difficult problems of Renaissance surgery—epidemic syphilis and gunshot wounds; accordingly, it remained the standard surgical textbook in Europe for over two hundred years.

[123] Its subtitle is *De herbis et plantis; De animalibus et reptilibus; De avibus et volatilibus; De lapidibus in terrae venis nascentibus; De urinis et earum speciebus; Tabula medicinalis, cum directorio generali.*

[124] *Marsilii Ficini Epidemiarum Antidotus,* printed in *Marsilii Ficini Platonici Opera*

1518: the translator remarks that he had undertaken his task *ob communem utilitatem.* In the middle of the sixteenth century Giovanni Bracesco of Brescia published a medical dialogue entitled *Il Legno della Vita* (Rome, 1542) in which he discussed the problem of longevity; this appeared in Latin some years later,[125] and further editions appeared in 1673, 1679, and even as late as 1702. Poisons and their antidotes were described in Jacques Gérin's *Deux livres de venins* (Anvers, 1567–68), which appeared shortly in Latin as *J. Grevini de Venenis libri duo . . . opera et labore H. Martii . . . in Latinum sermonem . . . conversi* (Antwerp, 1571). Baldassare Pisanelli's *Trattato della natura de'cibi e del bere* (Venice, 1587) was translated as *De esculentorum potulentorumque facultatibus* (Herborn, 1593) by Arnold Freitag, with reprints in 1614 and 1620.

Wilhelm Fabritius von Hilden, the surgeon, wrote nearly all of his works in Latin; one vernacular treatise (never printed?) was translated in the late sixteenth century into French, and from that was Latinized[126] by J. Rhuterius and J. A. Saracenus. Contemporary with Fabritius was André du Laurens, whose treatise on sight was translated into English in 1599, into Latin[127] in 1618, and into Italian in 1623. Du Laurens himself normally wrote in Latin, but at least one other of his medical works was published in the vernacular and thence translated into Latin, a treatise on catarrh.[128] Still another book on longevity (there are many in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries) was the work of another French doctor, Nicolas Lamelin; it was translated into Latin by his son[129] and published in 1628. Angelo Sala's treatise on plague (1641) was translated by a man who was himself a most voluminous writer on medical subjects, Gregorius Horst: *A. Salae . . . tractatus de peste . . . latinitate donatus* (Marburg, 1641). J. R. Glauber's *Tractatus de medicina generali* (Amsterdam, 1657) turns out, despite the Latin title, to be in German; but a Latin version was published under that same title by the same Amsterdam publisher in the following year. Glauber wrote widely in German on physics, chemistry, and medicine, but this, I believe, is the only Latin

omnia (Basel, 1561), 577–606; see also Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum,* Introd., lxxxvi–lxxxvii, and I, 24–25.

[125] *Dialogus cui titulus est Lignum vitae,* printed in Gulielmus Gratarolus, *Vera alchemia* (Basel, 1561).

[126] *Selectae observationes chirurgicae quinque et viginti* ([Lyons], 1598).

[127] *Discursus de visus subtilitate et conservandi modo* (Munich, 1618).

[128] *A. Laurentii . . . Tractatus . . . de Catarrho* (Paris, 1620).

[129] *Engelbertii Lamelin . . . De vita longa libri duo, quibus adiuncta sunt commoda et incommoda sobriae et moderatae vitae, necnon et tractatus de peste . . . a patre* [i.e., N.L.] *eiusdem compositum* [*sic*], *ab ipso* [i.e., E.L.] *autem . . . transversum* (Lille, 1628).

version of any of his works. A little later there appeared a Latin translation of René Descartes' work on the human embryo: *Tractatus de formatione foetus* (Leyden, 1672). Clopton Havers' *Osteologia nova* (London, 1691) turns out, like Glauber's work just mentioned, to be in the vernacular; but here again a Latin version was published under the identical title.[130] George Cheyne's *New Theory of Continual Fevers* (London, 1701) was translated into Latin, [131] as was his *Essay on Health and Long Life*[132] (London, 1724); Cheyne was a famous man in his day, so much so that the *Essay* was honored by being made the subject of a popular ballad published in 1725.

One of the earliest systematic treatises on smallpox was that of an Italian physician living in England, Giacopo di Castro Sarmento: *A Dissertation on the Method of Inoculating the Small-Pox; with critical remarks on the several authors who have treated of this disease* (London, 1721). This monograph, which had received the strong approval of the King, was published in Latin in the following year,[133] and further editions of the Latin text appeared at least in 1722 and 1737, although there were no further editions of the English original. (It is worth pointing out, incidentally, that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries especially a given vernacular work would appear in one or two editions only while its Latin counterpart might run to as many as eight or ten.) A famous and influential work of the early eighteenth century was John Freind's *History of Physick; from the time of Galen to the beginning of the sixteenth century* (2 vols.; London, 1725–26): naturally, then, it was translated into Latin.[134] Another work of filial duty was Nicolas Fizes' version of the medical treatises of his father, Antoine Fizes: *Antonii Fizes Opera medica de tumoribus, suppuratione, cataracta* (Montpellier, 1742). Practically all the medical works of William Cullen of Edinburgh were written and published in Latin; but the textbook which he wrote for the use of his own students at the University of Edinburgh was written in

[130] Tr. M. F. Gender (Frankfort, 1692).

[131] *Specimen de incrementis theoriae medicae, novae theoriae febrium continuarum acutarum et lentarum praemissum,* tr. Abraham Vater (Wittenberg, [1711]).

[132] *Tractatus de infirmorum sanitate tuenda vitaque producenda,* tr. John Robertson (London, 1726). This volume also contains Robertson's version of a work which Cheyne wrote in English but never (I believe) published: *De natura fibrae ejusque laxae sive resolutae morbis tractatus.*

[133] *Dissertationes in novam, tutam, et utilem methodum inoculationis seu transplantationis variolarum: Prima Methodus (auctoritate Regiae Majestatis comprobata) publicata cum criticis notis . . . a J. de Castro; Altera methodus praelecta a Gualtero Harris; Tertia, Byzantina dicta . . . ventilata ab Antonio Le Duc* (Leyden, 1722).

[134] Printed in *Johannis Freind . . . Opera omnia* (London, 1733).

English: *First Lines of the Practice of Physic* (4 vols.; Edinburgh, 1778–84); yet even this did not escape translation into Latin for use on the Continent.[135] The pioneer work of the eighteenth-century founder of homoeopathic medicine, Samuel Christian Friedrich Hahnemann, was translated from German into Latin as late as the nineteenth century.[136] Naturally works on zoology,[137] botany,[138] and entomology[139] were translated into Latin with frequency; such versions were commonest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Turning to a brief consideration of works on chemistry, we find that thirteen small collections of chemical treatises by Philippe Aureol Theophrast Bombast von Hohenheim ("Paracelsus") were published in Latin translation between 1568 and 1584, besides numerous versions of individual works. Georg Forberger, Georg Dorn, and others at one time set themselves the task of translating, under Forberger's general editorship, the entire corpus of Paracelsus' works, but got no farther than two large ocatavo volumes: *Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi . . . operum latine redditorum tomus I* [*tomus II*], (Basel, 1575); it was a noble scheme, although Paracelsus would no doubt have felt that it was no more than his due.

In the seventeenth century we find the chemical works of the physician Angelo Sala translated from Italian by Ludwig Combacher,[140]

[135] *Gulielmi Culleni . . . Primae lineae medicinalis praxeos, Ex anglico idiomate latine vertit A. B. Beerenbrock* (Leyden, 1779).

[136] *Samuelis Hahnemanni Materia medica pura,* tr. E. Stapf, G. Gross, and E. G. von Brunnow (2 vols.; Dresden, 1826–28).

[137] *M. T. Brunnichii Zoologiae fundamenta,* text in Danish and Latin (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1772).

[138] Jan and Caspar Commelin, *Horti Medici,* descriptions and illustrations of the fauna and flora of the East and West Indies, with the text in Dutch and Latin (2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1697 and 1701); cf. also *Fungorum et byssorum illustrationes* [over three hundred appear] *quos . . . delineavit, sculpsit, et coloribus naturalibus decoravit F. F. Chevallier,* text in French and Latin; Vol. I [all published] (Leipzig, 1837).

[139] Several of the entomological works of Francesco Redi were translated into Latin: his *Esperienze intorno alla generazione degli insetti* (Florence, 1668) became *Experimenta circa generationem insectorum* (Amsterdam, 1686); his *Esperienze intorno a diverse cose naturali e particularmente a quelle che ci son portate dall'India* (Florence, 1671) became *Experimenta circa varias res naturales, speciatim illas quae ex Indiis afferuntur* (Amsterdam, 1675); and his *Osservazioni intorno agli animali viventi che si trovano negli animali viventi* (Florence, 1684) was translated as *De animalculis vivis quae in corporibus animalium viventium reperiuntur observationes* (Amsterdam, 1708). In England, Charles Butler, vicar of Wotton, wrote a work on bees with the attractive title *The Feminine Monarchie* (Oxford, 1609): the famous and amusing passage describing the battles of bees is quoted *in extenso* by T. E. Page, *Bucolics and Georgics of Virgil* (London, 1898), 341–42; the whole work was later translated by R. Richardson as *Monarchia Foeminina; sive apum historia* (London, 1673). The English edition of 1704 is a translation from Richardson's Latin version; possibly the translator ("W. S.") thought the Latin was Butler's original text.

[140] *Angeli Salae . . . opera medico-chymica quae exstant omnia* (Frankfort, 1647).

who also translated a curious chemical work by Baron J. de Nuisement[141] which lost none of its oddity in the title of its English translation.[142] Hermetic,[143] occult,[144] and mathematical[145] works were, of course, translated into Latin quite as often as chemical treatises.

Few writers on scientific subjects appear to have had the Continental reputation enjoyed by Robert Boyle. Almost all his works on physics,[146] chemistry, physiology, and theology were translated into Latin without delay: one treatise of 185 large octavo pages, for instance, was translated, provided with Latin introduction and notes, set up in type, printed, and published within the short space of twelve months from the original publication date;[147] of twenty-one works, three appeared in translation in the same year as the original, three at the end of one year, and four within four years. Boyle's best-known work is, of course, *The Sceptical Chymist; or, Chymico-physical doubts and paradoxes* (London, 1661); this reached at least a second edition in its Latin version, and perhaps more.[148] Boyle's chief interests lay in the field of the physical properties of matter and in hydrostatics, as is clear from the titles of his works on air[149] and its elas-

[141] *Tractatus de vero sale secreto philosophorum et de universali mundi spiritu . . . latine versus* (Cassellis, 1651; 2d ed., 1672).

[142] *Sal, lumen, et spiritus mundi, or, the Dawning of the Day, discovered by the beams of light . . . Written originally in French, afterwards turned into Latin . . . by L. Combachius . . . and now transplanted into Albyon's garden by R. T. φιλομαθ* [i.e., *φιλομαθής*] (London, 1657).

[143] Jean Collesson's *L'Idée parfaicte de la philosophie hermétique: ou l'Abrégé de la théorie et practique de la pierre des philosophes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1631) appeared in Latin as *Idea perfecta philosophiae hermeticae; seu abbreviatio theoriae praxeos lapidis philosophici,* printed in Lazarus Zetznerus, *Theatrum chemicum* (Strasbourg, 1613), VI.

[144] Strozzi Cicogna's *Palagio de gl'incanti . . . diviso in libri XXXV: Libri* I–IV (all published; Vicenza, 1605) became *Magiae omnifariae vel potius universae naturae theatrum: Ex Italico Latinitate donatum opera et studio Caspari Ens* (Cologne, 1606; 2d ed., 1607).

[145] Ludolf van Ceulen's *De Arithmetische en geometrische fondamenten* (Leyden, 1615) was translated as *Fundamenta arithmetica et geometrica: E vernaculo in Latinum translata a Wil. S.* [i.e., Willem Snell] (Leyden, 1615). The same author's *Van den circkel* (Delft, 1596) was later translated as *De circulo et adscriptis liber* (Leyden, 1619); this edition also includes the *Fund. arith. et geom.*

[146] One would have expected, by the way, to find all of Galileo Galilei's Italian works on physics and astronomy translated and frequently reprinted; but of the works which he wrote in the vernacular I can cite only two certain translations: *D. Galilaei de Galilaeis . . . De proportionum instrumento . . . a M. Berneggero . . . translatus* (Strasbourg, 1612); *Systema Cosmicum,* four dialogues on Ptolemaic and Copernican astronomy (Augustae Trebocorum [this town is not listed in Graesse-Benedict, *Orbis latinus*], 1635); later editions appeared at least in 1641 and 1663.

[147] *An Essay about the Origine and Virtue of Gems* (London, 1672); *Specimen de gemmarum origine et virtutibus* (Hamburg, 1673).

[148] *Chymista scepticus; vel dubia et paradoxa chymico-physica* (2d ed.; Rotterdam, 1668).

[149] *New Experiments Physico-Mechanical, touching the air* (Oxford, 1662), translated as *Defensio doctrinae de elatere et gravitate aeris* (Rotterdam, 1669); *A Continuation of New Experiments Physico-Mechanical, touching the Spring and Weight of Air*

ticity, the properties of water,[150] on colors,[151] and on the porosity of matter;[152] but he wrote effectively and with originality on physiology,[153] medicine,[154] "popular science,"[155] and even on meditative theology:[156] all these were translated into Latin, and for the usual reason.

In theology itself there is a rich harvest from almost every vernacular in Europe, although the extent is, of course, as nothing when compared with the huge theological literature produced in original

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(Oxford, 1669), translated as *Experimentorum novorum physico-mechanicorum continuatio* (Geneva, 1682).

[150] *Hydrostatical Paradoxes* (Oxford, 1666), translated as *Paradoxa hydrostatica* (Oxford, 1669); *Tracts consisting of observations about the Saltness of the Sea* (London, 1674), translated as *Observationes de salsitudine maris* (Geneva, 1686).

[151] *Experiments and Considerations touching colours* (London, 1664), translated as *Experimenta et considerationes de coloribus* (Rotterdam, 1671).

[152] *Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies* (London, 1684), translated as *Tentamen porologicum, sive ad porositatem corporum tum animalium tum solidorum detegendam* (London, 1684).

[153] *Certain Physiological Essays* (London, 1661), translated as *Tentamina quaedam physiologica* (Amsterdam, 1667); *New Pneumatical Experiments about Respiration,* contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society,* August 8 and September 12, 1670, and translated as *Nova experimenta pneumatica respirationem spectantia* (Geneva, 1686); *Memoirs for the Natural History of Humane Blood* (London, 1684), translated as *Apparatus ad historiam naturalem sanguinis humani* (Geneva, 1685; 2d ed., 1686).

[154] *Of the Reconcileableness of Specifick Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy, to which is annex'd a discourse about the advantages of the use of simple medicines* (London, 1685), translated as *De specificorum remediorum cum corpusculari philosophia concordia: Cui accessit Dissertatio de varia simplicium medicamentorum utilitate et usu* (Geneva, 1687).

[155] *A Free Enquiry into the vulgarly receiv'd notion of Nature; made into an essay* [of 412 pages!] *address'd to a friend by R.B., Fellow of the Royal Society* (London, 1685–86), translated as *Tractatus de ipsa natura; sive libera in receptam naturae notionem disquisitio ad amicum* (Geneva, 1688); *The Excellence of Theology, compar'd with Natural Philosophy, as both are objects of men's study: Discours'd of in a letter to a friend, By T.H.R.B.E.* [i.e., The Honourable Robert Boyle, Esquire], *Fellow of the Royal Society: To Which are annex'd some Occasional Thoughts about the excellence and grounds of the Mechanical Hypothesis, By the same author* (London, 1674), of which the second part only was translated as *De hypothesis mechanicae excellentia et fundamentis considerationes quaedam, ad amicum propositae* (London, 1674); *Some Considerations touching the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy, propos'd in familiar discourse to a friend, by way of invitation to the study of it* (Vol. I, pts. i and ii; Vol. II; Oxford, 1663–71); translated as *Exercitationes de utilitate philosophiae naturalis experimentalis* (Lindau, 1692).

[156] *Of the High Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for His Wisdom and Power: By a Fellow of the Royal Society* (London, 1684), translated as *Debita Deo ab humano intellectu summa veneratio ob sapientiam et potentiam, Authore nobili Anglo, S.R.S.* [i.e., *Societatis Regiae Socio*] (London, 1685); *Some Considerations touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1661), translated as *Cogitationes de Sacrae Scripturae stylo* (Oxford, 1665); *Some Motives and Incentives to the Love of God, pathetically discours'd of in a letter to a friend* (London, 1661), translated as *De amore Seraphico* (Geneva, 1693).

Latin, the tradition of which is continuous from the early fathers of the Church to the present.

In the literature of translation one of the earliest authors represented is St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380): the *Libro de la divina providentia composto in u'lgare de la Seraphica vergen sancta Catherina da siena* (Bologna, [1475?]) was translated by Raimundus de Vineis de Capua (?) and published just at the close of the fifteenth century.[157] Later than St. Catherine was Jean Charlier de Gerson (1362?–1428), chancellor of the University of Paris. Gerson normally wrote in Latin; but it was the clumsy, wooden Latin of late Scholasticism, that *stilus Parisiensis* despised by Ermolao Barbaro and defended (with reservations) by Giovanni Pico. At least one of Gerson's sermons, however, was in the vernacular; it was perpetuated —that was the intention—by translation into Latin: *Sermo de passione domini, nuper e Gallico in Latinum traductus*[158] (Strasbourg, 1509; 2d ed., 1510). Much later, Martin Luther wrote widely in Latin; of his even more numerous vernacular works, however, only a few, and those of a distinctly tendentious[159] or polemical[160] nature were translated into Latin. The majority of John Calvin's works were written in Latin; but a fair number reached a European public via translation—sermons on Job[161] and the first book of Samuel,[162] an attack on astrology,[163] and a defense of Jacques de Bourgogne, Seigneur de Falais et de Bredon.[164]

[157] *Dialogus Seraphicae ac Divae Catharinae de Senis cum nonnullis aliis orationibus* (Brescia, 1496).

[158] Also printed in part two of the *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1517–18). So far as I know, the original has never been published.

[159] *Libellus M. Lutheri de sacramento Eucharistae, ad Valdenses fratres, e Germanico translatus per J. Jonam* (Wittenberg, 1520); *Libellus M. Lutheri, Christum Jesum verum Indaeum . . . esse . . . e Germanico versus per J. Jonam* (Wittenberg, 1524); *Praefatio . . . in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos . . . in Latinum versa per J. Jonam* (Wittenberg, 1524): *De Missa privata et Unctione sacra libellus . . . e Germanico in Latinum translatus per J. Jonam* (Wittenberg, 1534); *Insignium sacrae scripturae sententiarum expositiones,* tr. Caspar Busch (Nuremberg, 1548); *Nervosus Lutheri in totam Scripturam sacram Commentarius* [i.e., the prefaces to the Psalms and to the Epistle to the Romans], tr. Justus Jonas (Helmstadt, 1708).

[160] *Contra papatum Romanum . . . Latine redditum per J. Jonam* (Wittenberg, 1545).

[161] *Sermons de M. Jean Calvin sur le livre de Job* (Geneva, 1562); *Johannis Calvini in Librum Jobi Conciones, ab ipsius concionantis ore fideliter exceptae, ac saepius antea Gallice, nunc primum Latine editae,* with preface by Théodore de Bèze (Geneva, 1593).

[162] *Ioannis Calvini Homiliae in I librum Samuelis* (Geneva, 1604). Whether the French originals of this work and of that cited in n. 163 were ever published is uncertain.

[163] *Admonitio adversus astrologiam* (Geneva, 1549).

[164] *L'Excuse de noble seigneur Jacques de Bourgogne* (Geneva, 1548), translated as *Apologia illustris D. Iacobi a Burgundia . . . qua apud Imperatorum Maiestatem inustas sibi criminationes diluit, fideique suae confessionem edit* ([Geneva], [1548?]).

It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast with the mystic and ecstatic theology of St. Catherine of Siena than the intensely practical writings of the much later Martín de Azpilcueta, whom we have already met as the author of the *Tractado de las rentas de los beneficios ecclesiasticos;* his equally practical handbooks for the use of priests (one of which conveniently lists sins and their appropriate penances,[165] another of which deals with prayers and the Hours[166]) were soon translated into Latin and no doubt proved a godsend to many an overworked parish priest, no matter of what nationality. There was seldom delay, either, in translating the vernacular works of Azpilcueta's Protestant contemporary Heinrich Bullinger: his lengthy discussion of the elements common to the churches of Zurich and Rome was translated into Latin, printed, and published within twelve months of the publication of the original,[167] as was his work on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper;[168] his lengthy summary of Christian doctrine was also translated.[169] Practically all the rest of Bullinger's voluminous output, however, was written in Latin in the first place.

Turning for a moment to England, we meet the name of the "father of the English Reformation," Thomas Cranmer. Modern histories of English literature describe him as uninspired, except as a liturgist,[170] and his works as unimportant; but at least one of his works was regarded by his contemporaries as important enough for several print-

[165] *Manuel de Confessores y penitentes, que clara y brevemente contiene la decision de quasi todas las dudas, que en las confessiones suelen occurrir* (Salamanca, 1557); at least two translations were made under the title *Enchiridion, sive Manuale Confessariorum et poenitentium,* one at Antwerp in 1581, the other at Mainz in 1603.

[166] *Commento o repeticion del capitulo: Quando de Consecratione disting. I* (Coimbra, 1550–51), translated as *Enchiridion sive Manuale de oratione et horis canonicis* (Rome, 1578).

[167] *Warhaffte Bekanntnusz der dieneren der kirchen zu Zuerych* (Zurich, 1545), translated as *Orthodoxa Tigurinae Ecclesiae ministrorum confessio* (Zurich, 1545).

[168] *Von dem heiligen Nachtmal unsers Herren Iesu Christi* (Zurich, 1553) translated as *De sacrosancta coena Domini nostri* (Zurich, 1553): this contains two sermons on the ritual, purpose, and material of the Holy Communion and on the communicant's due preparation of himself for the rite.

[169] *Summa Christenlicher Religion* (Zurich, 1556), translated as *Compendium Christianae Religionis* (Zurich, 1559).

[170] This is as good a place as any to point out that there are a great many Latin translations of liturgies, catechisms, and collections of prayers; I shall merely cite one example of each: (i) the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* (the first of Edward VI) appeared as *Ordinatio ecclesiae; seu ministerii ecclesiastici in florentissimo regno Angliae, conscripta sermone patrio, et in Latinam linguam conversa ab Alexandro Alesio, Scoto* (Leipzig, 1551); (ii) the catechism of the Lutheran church in Brandenberg was translated as *Catechismus pro pueris et Juventute in ecclesiis et ditione . . . Marchionum Brandeborgensium, et inclyti senatus Norimbergensis, breviter conscriptus, e Germanico Latine redditus per J. Jonam* (Brandenberg, 1539); (iii) *Preces privatae in studiosorum gratiam collectae* (London, 1564, with later editions in 1568 and 1573).

ings in the vernacular[171] and a careful translation into Latin by Sir John Cheke.[172]

Later still, part of the work of the Jesuit Vincenzo Bruno was put into Latin. His *Delle meditationi sopra le sette festività principali della Beata Vergine,* a treatise of over four hundred pages, forms only part four of his *Meditazioni sopra i principali misteri della vita e passione e risurrezione di Christo.* This colossal fragment was published in Latin as *Meditationes in septem praecipua festa Beatae Virginis* (Cologne, 1602). The same translator (M. Putzius? J. Busaeus?) had already made a version of Bruno's far briefer (seventy pages) work, *Trattado del Sacramento della penitenza: Brevis tractatus de sacramento poenitentiae* (Cologne, 1601).

Philosophical and ethical treatises were translated into Latin rather less often than one would have expected. One of the earliest of such versions, and certainly the one most frequently reprinted, was A. Frusius' translation of St. Ignatius Loyola's Spanish *Spiritual Exercises.* The Latin *Exercitia Spiritualia,* first published at Rome in 1548, was reprinted in 1563, 1596, 1606, 1610, 1615, 1635, 1637 (with a Latin version by J. Dyck of L. de Palmas' Spanish commentary), 1644, 1689, 1837, and 1841. Translation of philosophical works seems to have been rather commoner in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than in the sixteenth. René Descartes wrote much of his work in Latin; but his vernacular *Discours sur la méthode* (Leyden, 1637) was translated by E. de Bourcelles as *Specimina philosophiae; seu dissertatio de methodo recte regendae rationis* (Amsterdam, 1644), with various reprintings up to at least 1685. So also his *Les passions de l'âme* (Paris, 1649) appeared in Latin,[173] and in 1668 there was published in London a volume entitled *Epistolae [Cartesii], partim ab auctore Latino sermone conscriptae, partim ex Gallico translatae,* which was reprinted in Amsterdam in 1682–83. Two treatises by Sir Kenelm Digby found their way into Latin as *Demonstratio immortalitatis animae rationalis* (Paris, 1655). Contemporary with Digby was Ralph Cudworth (the Younger), whose *True Intellectual System of the Universe . . . With a discourse*[174] *concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper* (London, 1643) was translated into Latin in the mid-seventeenth century by Johann Lorenz

[171] *A Defense of the True and Catholick doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our saviour Christ* (London, 1550), with two other editions in the same year and a fourth in 1557.

[172] *Defensio verae et Catholicae doctrinae de Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi Servatoris* (London, 1553; 2d ed. [Emden?], 1557).

[173] As part six of the *Opera philosophica Cartesii* (Amsterdam, 1677–78).

[174] This second part appeared first in 1642.

Mosheim, although the only edition of the Latin text that I have seen is a century later.[175] Some of Thomas Hobbes' works were originally written in Latin: of these a collected edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1668 and again in London in 1839–45. Of his vernacular works at least one, the *Leviathan,* was Latinized.[176] Only one of John Locke's[177] and only one of David Hume's[178] works ever appeared in Latin; but the intrepid F. G. Born undertook to publish *Immanuel Kantii Opera omnia . . . Latine* (Leipzig, 1796–98), an achievement which must make any teacher of Latin prose composition murmur that there were giants in the world in those days.

Works in the allied field of political science, on the other hand, were frequently turned into Latin, at least from the time of Niccolò Machiavelli (cf. n. 3). We may instance in particular a work by one Aretius Catharus ("Virtuous Pure"), who turns out, on closer inspection, to be none other than Martin Luther,[179] two works by Jean Bodin,[180] Giovanni Botero's *Della Ragion di Stato, libri dieci, con tre libri delle cause della Grandezza e Magnificenza delle Città*[181] (Venice, 1589), and finally a treatise by "C. φιλόπατρις," a pseudonym of James I, *The True Lawe of Free Monarchies; or, The reciprock and mutual dutie betwixt the King and his naturall Subjects*[182] (Lon-

[175] *Radulphi Cudworthi . . . Systema intellectuale huius universi; seu, De veris naturae rerum originibus commentarii,* Vol. I (Jena, 1733); Vol. II, pts. i and ii (Leyden, 1773).

[176] *Leviathan; or, the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth* (London, 1651); *Leviathan; sive De materia, forma, et potestate civitatis* (Amsterdam, 1670).

[177] The *Essay concerning Human Understanding* appeared as *De intellectu humano . . . nunc primum Latine reddita,* by Richard Burridge (London, 1701; 2d ed., 1709).

[178] *The Life of David Hume, written by himself* (London, 1777) appeared in a twelve-page pamphlet as *D. Humei . . . De vita sua liber singularis,* tr. Sir D. Dalrymple ([Edinburgh?], 1787). Leibnitz and Comte do not seem to appear in Latin translation at all.

[179] *Aretii Cathari de magistratu seculari, secunda pars, in qua ostenditur quam longe lateque pateat magistratus secularis,* published in Martin Bellius, *De haereticis* (Basel, 1554), a translation by J. Lonicer of Part 2 of Martin Luther's *Von weltlichen Obrigkeit.* "Martin Bellius," by the way, was Sébastien Châteillon.

[180] His most famous work, of course, is *Les Six livres de la République* (Lyons, 1580), a treatise of 739 pages, translated by Bodin himself as *De republica libri sex* (Lyons, 1586), with considerable additions. A volume published at Erfurt in 1603 *per I. Pistorium* (Johann Mueller, presumably) contains a Latin text translated from the French, Italian, and Spanish of Bodin, Fausto Longiano, and "a certain prince," comparing the views of all three on the ideal education of a ruler: *Consilia Iohannis Bodini Galli et Fausti Longiani, de principe recte instituendo; Cum praeceptis cuiusdam principis politicis.*

[181] *Ioannis Boteri Tractatus duo; Prior: De illustrium statu et politia libri X; Posterior: De origine urbium, earum excellentia, et augendi ratione libri III,* translated from Italian to German, and then from German to Latin (Oberursel, 1602); another Latin edition of the first treatise appeared at Helmstadt in 1665.

[182] *Assertio Iuris Monarchici in Regno Scotorum* (London, 1653). Much of this work is a rebuttal of Buchanan's (original Latin) treatise. James' advice to his son was also translated: Βασιλικὸν Δωρον; *or his Maiesties Instructions to his dearest sonne Henry the*

don, 1603; 2d ed., 1603; 3d ed., 1642), a work which would not have met with the approval of the writer's old tutor, George Buchanan, author of the *De iure regni apud Scotos.*

Even more extensive is the translation-literature of religious propaganda, polemic, apologetic, and vituperation. Especially common are versions of the apologetic letter or improving tract describing the martyrdom of some saint or near-saint, often with much panegyric of Catholicism (or Protestantism) and much vituperation of Protestantism (or Catholicism). A fairly typical instance is the anonymous *Histoire de la mort que le R. P. Edmond Campion . . . et autres . . . ont souffert* (Paris, 1582), describing the martyrdom of the Jesuits Edmund Campion, Ralph Sherwin, and Alexander Bryan on December 1, 1581; this was translated into Latin immediately as *Martyrium R. P. Edmundi Campiani, per G. Estium e Gallico Latine redditum*[183] (Louvain, 1582). This version was followed three years later by another made by James Laing of the Sorbonne: *Historia de morte Edmundi Campionis et aliorum qui in Anglia propter fidem Catholicam, apostolicam, atque Romanam crudelissimam passi sunt mortem,* published as an appendix to his biography of Théodore de Bèze (Paris, 1585); yet another version *(Narratio de morte quam E. Campianus aliique duo oppetierunt)* was made by Robert Turner, rector of the University of Ingolstadt, from an Italian translation of the French original, and was published as an appendix to the first edition of Campion's works: *Edmundi Campiani Societatis Jesu, Martyris in Anglia, opuscula omnia* (Milan, 1625); it also appeared along with Campion's *De imitatione rhetorica* in *Roberti Turner . . . Orationum volumen secundum* (Cologne, 1625). All of Campion's own works were, of course, written in Latin.

Vituperative and apologetic works appear commonly in the literature of translation at least from the sixteenth century. As an instance of the first, consider the work of the converted Moor, Juan Andrés, who, to prove that he was *plus Catholique que le pape lui-même,* wrote a violent attack on Mohammedanism which was first translated from Spanish to Italian by Domenico de Gazetelu[184] and then—for the edification of a wider public—from Italian to Latin by Johann Lauterbach.[185] Protestant apologetic, naturally, began to appear as

Prince (Edinburgh, 1603); *Potentissimi Anglorum Regis Iacobi . . . Donum Regium; sive de Institutione Principis* (Frankfort, 1679).

[183] This work also contains an account by Francisco de Castro, a Jesuit of Ocaña, entitled *Martyrium Petri Elcii,* a translation of a letter originally in Spanish.

[184] *Libro nuevamente imprimido que se llama confusion dela secta mahometica y d'l alcoran* (Valencia, 1515), translated into Italian as *Opera chiamata confusione della setta machumetana* (Seville, 1540; later editions in Venice, 1545 and 1597).

[185] *Johannis Andreae Confusio sectae Mahometanae* (Utrecht, 1656).

early as Protestantism itself,[186] as is true of the defence of heresies and individual heretics;[187] so also, much later, with the Puritans.[188] We hear much of the Jesuits, too. Several volumes are devoted to the Archpriest of England, George Blackwell, and his troubles with Jesuit superiors[189] and (especially) with Cardinal Bellarmine.[190] And a typical instance of Jesuit apologetic is Joseph Antoine Joachim Cérutti's *Apologie générale de l'institut et de la doctrine des Jésuites* (3d ed.; Soleure, 1763), a work of over five hundred vigorous pages, forming a spirited defence of the aims, methods, and views of the Society of Jesus. This appeared in a German version in 1765 and in a Latin translation in the same year.[191]

Every literature, I suppose, has its oddities and curiosa, and the present one is no exception. Years ago I came across the thirty-second edition of a Latin version of the German children's story from which the comic-strip "The Katzenjammer Kids" is derived; I have never seen it since, but I have met a good many oddities in the course of preparing this paper, some of them the work of cranks translated by cranks for the delectation of cranks, some the leisure employment of classical scholars of wit, taste, and a whimsical turn of mind, and some merely the sort of thing which, once published, one would not expect to find translated into any language, much less Latin. One is not surprised to find turned into Latin Cranmer's impassioned denial

[186] Cf. Antonio de Corro, *A Supplication exhibited to the moste mightie Prince Philip king of Spaine . . . Wherein is contained the summe of our Christian Religion, for the profession whereof the Protestants in the lowe countries of Flaunders etc., doe suffer persecution; Written in French and Latine* (London, 1577).

[187] Cf. *Apologia de vera doctrina eorum, qui vulgo appellantur Waldenses, qui retinuerunt Iohannis Hus doctrinam . . . oblata D. Georgio Marchioni Brandeburgensi, anno M.D.XXXII . . . ex Bohemico exemplari translatum per Burigenum, Doctorem de Kornis* [pseud.?], printed in B. Lydius, *Waldensia* (Rotterdam, 1616), Vol. I.

[188] Cf. [William Caton], *The Moderate Enquirer,* a defence of the Quakers (London, 1671), translated as *Moderatus Inquisitor* (London, 1660); this contains the first edition of the English text. The translator's word for "Quakers" is *Trementes.*

[189] *Relatio compendiosa turbarum quas Iesuitae Angli una cum D. Georgio Blackwello . . . sacerdotibus seminariorum populoque Catholico concivere,* a translation of an English original which, so far as I know, was never published, made by Christopher Bagshaw (London, [1601?]); *Declaratio motuum et turbationum quae ex controversiis inter Jesuitas [et] . . . Georgium Blackwellum ortae sunt,* a translation by John Mush of an unpublished English original (London, 1601).

[190] *A Large Examination taken at Lambeth . . . of M. George Blackwell . . . upon occasion of a certaine answere of his to a letter sent unto him from Cardinall Bellarmine,* containing Bellarmine's and Blackwell's letters and Blackwell's open letter "to the Romish Catholicks of England" (London, 1607), translated as *In Georgium Blackwellum Angliae Archipresbyterum quaestio bipertita,* tr. John Wilson (London, 1609).

[191] *Apologia pro instituto Societatis Iesu* (Augsburg, 1765).

of intent to celebrate Mass at Canterbury,[192] but one hardly expects Andrea Bacci's treatise on the unicorn to reach such heights; but it does,[193] and so do Nostradamus' prophecies,[194] at the hands of Jean de Chavigny, who had earlier indicated his tastes and interests by translating into French Jean Dorat's Latin poem on an alleged androgyne born at Paris on July 21, 1570; so also do James I's *Counterblast to Tobacco*[195] and Carrichter's fantastic cures for diseases brought on by Black Magic.[196] Other curiosities are translations of a treatise on dueling,[197] of a widely-read work on chocolate,[198] of works by Confucius and other Chinese sages,[199] and, in more modern times, of *John Gilpin's Ride, Robinson Crusoe, Pinocchio, The Hunting of the Snark,* and—a really brilliant *tour de force—Jabberwocky.*[200]

[192] *Purgatio adversus infames sed vanos rumores a quibusdam sparsos de missa apologetica ex Anglico autographo latina facta* (London, 1554).

[193] *L'Alicorno* (Florence, 1573), translated as *De monocerate seu unicornu* (Stuttgart, 1598) by Wolfgang Gabelschouer; but the author was a serious scholar, as he shows in his *De gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis,* which had a Latin version by the same translator (Frankfort, 1603).

[194] *Jani Gallici facies prior: ex decantissimis illis tetrastichis, quae M. Nostradamus olim Gallice in lucem edidit, liber depromptus, Latine redditus atque explicatus per J. A. Chavigneum* (Lyons, 1594).

[195] *King James his Counterblast to Tobacco* (London, 1642) became *Misocapnus; sive de abusu tobacci lusus regius,* printed in A. Everardus, *De Herba Panacea* (Utrecht, 1644).

[196] *Bartholomaei Carrichter Certa et genuina ratio medendi morbis ab incantatione dependentibus nunc primum Latinitate donata,* in G. A. Mercklein, *Sylloge physico-medicinalium casuum incantationi vulgo adscribi solitorum* (Nuremberg, 1698).

[197] Christophe de Cheffontaines (archbishop of Caesarea), *Chréstienne confutation du poinct d'honneur, sur lequel la Noblesse fonde auiour d'huy ses querelles et monomachies* (Paris, 1568), translated as *Confutatio puncti, quem vocant honoris, super quo contentionum, monomachiarum, sive duellorum suorum fundamenta Christiana hodie nobilitas iacit, in qua de vero falsoque disputatur honore* (Cologne, 1585).

[198] Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma, *Curiosa Tratado de la Naturaleza y Calidad del Chocolate* (Madrid, 1631); translated into English, 1640, 1652, 1685; into French, 1643, 1671; into Italian, 1667, which became in Latin *Chocolata Inda: opusculum de qualitate et natura chocolatae . . . Hispanico antehac idiomate editum . . . nunc vero curante Marco Aurelio Severino . . . in Latinum translatum* (Nuremberg, 1644).

[199] Cf. *Sapientia Sinica, exponente P. Ignatio a Costa,* containing the Ta Hsüeh and Lim Yü of Confucius in Chinese and Latin (Kién Cehām, in urbe Sinarum provinciae Kiām Sī, 1662); *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive Sapientia sinensis latine exposita, studio et opera Prosperi Intorcetta, Christiani Herdtrich, Francisci Rougemont, Philippi Couplet,* containing the Ta Hsüeh, Lun Yü, and Chung Yung in Chinese and Latin (Paris, 1687); in the nineteenth century, F. S. Couvreur published Chinese-Latin texts of Ssu Shu (1895), Shih Ching (1896), Shu Ching (1897) and Li Chi (1899), as well as *Choix de documents: Texte chinois avec traduction en francais et latin* (Ho Kien Fou, 1894); cf., finally, Paul Perny, *Dialogues chinois-latins traduits mot à mot avec la prononciation accentuée* (Paris, 1872).

[200] *Johannis Gilpini iter,* tr. C. W. Bingham (Oxford, 1834; 2d ed., 1841); *Iter Johannis Gilpini,* tr. Robert Scott (privately printed, 1897); *A Latin Elegiac Version of John Gilpin . . . by Henry Hayman* (London, 1891); the poem has also been trans-

A word or two on the quality of this literature of translation will not be out of place. Rossi speaks rather contemptuously of Matteo Ronto's version of Dante; never having seen even part of it, I can express no opinion, but I can at least claim to have read a portion of della Piazza's eighteenth-century version: most of what I read was very good indeed, and parts were really excellent. As for versions of Petrarch's sonnets, the elegiac distich in which most appear seems an inappropriate form: Braccesi, in his elegiac version of the *Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d'Egitto,* for once attains the frigidity of Landino. Iambic trimeters, possibly, or (better) hendecasyllabics would appear to be the proper medium, and, considering how excessively popular the latter were among fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Latin poets, it is rather astonishing that we do not find such versions of the sonnets in quantity. On the other hand, Filippo Beroaldo's elegiac verse-translation of Boccaccio's tale of Ghismonda and Guiscardo is decidedly attractive: the narrative is lively, the dialogue well managed, the verse varied and pleasant. Equally pleasant are Olimpia Morato's versions of Boccaccio, written in a prose that cannot be called Ciceronian, Livian, Senecan, or Apuleian. Just as modern English essayists and historians have developed a serviceable, "basic" English prose that most professional writers can assume at will, the classical humanists of the Renaissance often employed, for essays and letters in particular, a style basically Ciceronian in rhythm but eclectic in syntax and vocabulary, and it is just such a basic prose that Olimpia Morato here uses.

The versions of accounts of exploration—as one would expect—are usually competent but unpretentious. Quite typical is Aliander de Cosco's translation of Columbus' letter from Lisbon; it is clear and straightforward but has no pretensions to literary excellence. Later versions of these works, such as those made by Havercamp and Mosheim, are, despite the speed with which some of them were pro-

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lated into French (1874), Danish (1849), Persian (1892), and—*mirabile dictu*—old Orkney dialect (1869).

Robinson Crusoëus: Latine scripsit F. J. Goffaux (London, 1820); actually this is a version not of Defoe but of Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Robinson der Jüngere,* the very frequently reprinted German Crusoe story.

Enrico Maffacini, *Pinoculus* (Florence, 1950); American ed. with added notes and glossary by Olga Ragusa (New York, 1953).

The Hunting of the Snark: an Agony in eight fits (London, 1876): *The Hunting of the Snark . . . Rendered into Latin verse by Percival Robert Brinton* (London, 1937), and *The Hunting of the Snark . . . Translated into Latin Elegiacs . . . by H. D. Watson* (Oxford, 1936); Mr. Watson has also translated *Jabberwocky, Father William,* and *The Walrus and the Carpenter.*

Jabberwocky was translated in March 1872 by A. A. Vansittart of Trinity College, Cambridge, but never (so far as I know) published.

duced, usually considerably more elaborate. The Latinity of medical treatises is occasionally good, generally mediocre, sometimes execrable; indeed, the style of most versions of scientific works (especially, perhaps, those of Robert Boyle) is marked by wooden literalism and, naturally enough, neologism. The histories, biographies, and memoirs make, as a rule, a pretty good showing, particularly those translated into the Livian Latin so greatly admired by such Renaissance historians as George Buchanan. But theological and devotional works often display an awkward, turgid heaviness that would have tried the patience of Salutati, let alone of Bembo; versions of sermons, in particular, struggle along under the handicap of a *stilus Parisiensis* that had long outlived the fifteenth century. Yet on the whole the Latinity of the translations is astonishingly good. Its worst can be very bad indeed; but in all those that I have actually examined there are several good ones for every failure.

It remains only to assure any jaded reader who has endured this *Catalogue of Ships* thus far that several titles could be added to every one cited above; but the catalogue as it stands may give some impression of how remarkably widespread was the practice of assuring international circulation by translation into Latin. For over four hundred and fifty years every conceivable sort of book, from accounts of Russian exploration in the Samoyed country (published in Germany) to elegiac versions of Gray's *Elegy* (published in Italy), was translated into the international language.

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Renaissance Books of 1953

A Bibliographical Supplement

General Editor, William Peery

When the present work was projected, it was felt that the Renaissance Society of America should sponsor and publish in this volume a bibliography of Renaissance books of 1953. It would embody one of the aims of the Society —to study the period as a whole rather than by separate disciplines; thus books on Renaissance art, history, literature, music, philosophy, and science would be included in one comprehensive list. Accordingly, the editor solicited the services of contributing bibliographers in principal foreign countries and contributors of critical comments abroad and in America.

The result was a bibliography of over six hundred books, four hundred of them with comments. The length of the resulting manuscript created a serious problem. The Editorial Board decided that the Society should not devote its limited funds to publishing a bibliography which could make no claim to completeness yet which in many cases duplicated entries in the well-known annual bibliographies published in *PMLA, Studies in Philology,* and *Shakespeare Quarterly.* The editor has therefore withdrawn all entries which appear in these bibliographies and all notices of books which have already been noticed in *Renaissance News.* He deeply regrets that it is thus impossible to print the solicited critical comments of such scholars as Don Cameron Allen, R. C. Bald, Paul W. Blackford, Marie Boas, Richmond P. Bond, J. R. Brown, Carroll Camden, R. A. Foakes, Robert A. Fowkes, Marcel Françon, William Gilbert, Alfred Harbage, E. Harris Harbison, Hanford M. Henderson, III, Frank L. Huntley, R. J. Kaufmann, Robert A. Law, Archibald R. Lewis, R. M. Lumiansky, James G. McManaway, T. M. Parrott, Irving Ribner, Elias L. Rivers, Paul Saintonge, Aaron Schaffer, G. Schulz-Behrend, Matthias A. Shaaber, Paul N. Siegel, Leslie F. Smith, D. T. Starnes, Archer Taylor, Dick Taylor, Jr., Aram Vartanian, Rudolph Willard, and Philip Williams. The Board wishes me to express its thanks for their prompt and generous co-operation and its regret that the list of books, and therefore the comments, could not be printed in entirety. It is hoped that what remains will constitute a bibliography all the more important because it contains, wherever possible, critical comments by specialists and because its titles have not been included in the four places named.

Data given for works which were reported in 1953 in both American and English editions are for the more readily accessible American edition. Where

the American edition did not appear until 1954, data for it are given parenthetically. Where no date is given, understand 1953. The date 1952 is given for books so dated but published or first reported in 1953. New editions are ordinarily listed only if they are more than reprints. Juveniles and popularizations of little interest to scholars are excluded. Only for books on art are illustrations and plates regularly noted. Where no price is given, the work is unpriced or the price could not be learned from the usual sources.

Thanks are due and are here offered to the contributing editors and to all who contributed critical comments, whether or not their work appears below. Unsigned comments are by the general editor except in Section VIII, where they are by the contributing editors.

CONTRIBUTORS OF CRITICAL COMMENTS

CT	Charles Trinkaus
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WGC	William G. Constable
WS	Wolfgang Stechow
WSB	William S. Burgett

I. DUTCH

Contributing Editors:
G. A. VAN ES,
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K. IWEMA,
University of Groningen

Gelder, Jan Gerrit van. *Rembrandt's vroegste ontwikkeling.* (Mededelingen der Kon. Ned. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe reeks, Deel 16, No. 5.) Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitg. Mij. 28 pp., 14 plates.

A lively, and in some respects controversial, discussion of paintings, drawings, and etchings from Rembrandt's earliest period, including works done in collaboration with pupils. WS

Kleef, B. A. van. *Geschiedenis van de Oud-Katholieke kerk van Nederland.* Assen: Van Gorcum.

A study of the history of the Old-Catholic Church, with an analysis of the medieval Catholic Church in the Netherlands. JL

Mellink, A. F. *De wederdopers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. 1531–1544.* Groningen: J. B. Wolthers.

A comprehensive survey of the influence of "Munster-Anabaptism" in the Netherlands and the relationships of this widespread movement. JL

Post, R. R. *Geboortejaar en opleiding van Erasmus.* (Mededelingen der Kon. Ned. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe reeks, Deel 16, No. 8.) Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitg. Mij. 22 pp. 1,25 florins.

A detailed investigation into the year of Erasmus' birth, his chronology, and his school years. JL

Praamsma, L. *Calvijn.* Wageningen: Zomer & Keuning. 296 pp. 9,75 florins.

A general impression of Calvin, his life, his work, and influence, by a Calvin authority. JL

Tolerantie en intolerantie: Casamus, Servet en Castellio. Groningen: J. B. Wolthers.

Two papers read at the University of Groningen at the commemoration of Castellio's struggle for toleration. JL

Vloemans, A. *Inleiding tot Spinoza.* 's Gravenhage: Van Stockum & Zoon. 174 pp. 7,50 florins.

Discussion of Spinoza, his life, and his place in the history of ideas. JL

Woude, S. van der. *Acta Capituli Windeshemensis.* 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.

A critical edition of the principal manuscript, revealing the origin, culmination, and decay of the "Windesheim Congregation," a phenomenon of the Devotio Moderna. JL

———. *Verguisd geloof. De lotgevallen van Michel Servet en Sebastiaan Castellio.* (Vrije geluiden-serie, vierde reeks.) Delft: W. Gaade. 224 pp. 4,75 florins.

A brief and popular explanation of the struggle for toleration in connection with Servetus and Castellio. JL

II. ENGLISH

Contributing Editors:
THE FELLOWS OF THE
SHAKESPEARE INSTITUTE,
Stratford

Ancient devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, by Carthusian monks of the 14th–17th centuries. Ed. by Cyprien Marie Boutrais. English text rev. by Sebastian Maccabe. 4th ed. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 249 pp. 7s. 6d.

Contrary to the common opinion that the devotion to the Sacred Heart is relatively recent (18th century), the present collection demonstrates that the Carthusian monks of the 14th–17th centuries knew of it and sought to propagate it. Therein lies the historical value of the book. RMH

Binns, Norman Evans. *An introduction to historical bibliography.* London: Assn. of Assistant Librarians (Central Lib., Porchester Road, W. 1). 383 pp. (bibl.) 25s.
Contains some useful elementary information, but is marred by uncritical repetition of some ancient errors and presented so briefly that many essentials are omitted. LMO

Blunt, Wilfred. *Pietro's pilgrimage: a journey to India and back at the beginning of the seventeenth century.* London: Barrie. 332 pp. (bibl.) 21s.
Popularization of a narrative (pub. 1651–53, ed. Hakluyt Soc., 1898) of the 1614 travels of Pietro de la Valle; said to make use of new manuscript material. GBP

British Museum, London. *Summary catalogue of an exhibition of drawings by Michelangelo, belonging to H. M. the Queen, the Ashmolean Museum, the British Museum, and other English collections.* London: British Museum. 31 pp. 1s. 6d.
A brief but most scholarly catalogue, giving essential information, of a remarkable exhibition. WGC

Brockwell, Maurice Walter. *The pseudo-Arnolfini portrait: a case of mistaken identity.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1952. 128 pp., 3 plates. 10s. 6d.
This unfortunate revival of the old identification of the London couple with Jan and Margaret van Eyck has been refuted by Panofsky (*Early Netherlandish Painting* [Cambridge, Mass., 1953], 439). WS

Brooks, Frederick William. *The Council of the North.* (Hist. Assn. Pubs., Gen. Ser., G 25.) London: G. Philip for the Hist. Assn. 32 pp. (bibl.) 1s. 6d.

Cajetan, Thomas De Vio. *The analogy of names and the concept of being.* Tr., with nn., by Edward A. Buskinsky and Henry J. Koren. (Duquesne Stud., Phil. Ser., 4.) Pittsburgh: Duquesne U. Pr. 103 pp. $2.25.
I have not seen this critical edition based on the four ancient editions, but any attempt to make some of the writings of this leading Thomist commentator and philosopher, *ca.* 1500, more available should be welcomed. POK

Camus, Jean Pierre. *The Spirit of St. François de Sales.* Ed. and tr., with an introd., by C. F. Kelley. London: Longmans, Green. 334 pp. 16s. 6d.
At the age of twenty-six consecrated a bishop by St. François de Sales himself, Camus is the author of these beautiful sayings and delightful stories about the famous and saintly Bishop of Annecy (d. 1622). Originally Englished by a "Clergyman of Boston," this classic now appears in a new revised translation. RMH

Carew, Richard. *The survey of Cornwall & c.* Ed. with introd. by F. E. Halliday. London: Melrose. 334 pp. (bibl.) 30s.
A needed reprint, modernized, of a pioneer county history, 1602; with John Norden's rare maps. The *et cetera* include *Godfrey of Bulloigne, Examen de Ingenios,* and *The Excellency of the English Tongue.*

Comenius, Johann Amos. *The analytical didactic of Comenius.* Tr. from the Latin, with introd. and nn., by Vladimir Jelinek. Chicago: U. of Chicago Pr. 258 pp. (bibl.) $5.00.
First English translation of Chapter 10 of Comenius' *Linguarum Methodus Novissima,* the author's third and last didactic.

Copleston, Frederick. *A history of philosophy.* Vol. III: Ockham to Suárez. Westminster, Md.: Newman Pr. 488 pp. (bibl.) $5.00.
Another volume in a general textbook on the history of philosophy written by a Jesuit. Distinguished by scholarly competence and objective presentation; especially good on late Scholasticism. POK

Crombie, Alastair Cameron. *Robert*

Grosseteste and the origins of experimental science, 1100–1700. Oxford: Clarendon Pr. 381 pp. 35s.

Dowland, John. *Ayres for four voices.* Transcribed by E. H. Fellowes; ed. by T. Dart and N. Fortune. (Musica Britannica, VI.) London: Stainer and Bell. 132 pp. 42s.

Complete text, with transcription of lute accompaniment and full textual comments, of sixty-five works, of which few have hitherto been known in this form. Fine music; elegant printing. TD

Essex Record Office. *English history from Essex sources, 1550–1750.* (Essex Records Office Pubs., 17.) Ed. by A. C. Edwards. Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1952. 218 pp. 15s.

One of a series of useful volumes published by the enterprising Essex Public Records Office. EH

François de Sales, Saint. *The spiritual maxims of St. François de Sales.* Ed. by C. F. Kelley. New York: Harper. 191 pp. (bibl.) $2.25.

Besides re-editing in English Camus' *Spirit of St. François de Sales* and *The Spirit of Love according to St. François de Sales,* Kelley has now edited this third work dealing with the "gentlemanly saint of the Renaissance." These translations are fast becoming classical editions for the English-speaking public. RMH

Friedlaender, Walter, and Anthony Blunt (eds.) *The drawings of Nicholas Poussin: catalogue raisonné.* Part III: *Mythological Subjects.* (Warburg Institute, Stud. Ser., Vol. 5, Part 3.) London: Warburg Institute. 48 pp., 55 plates. 63s.

This third volume of a standard work is as authoritative and informative as the first two. The reproductions are very satisfactory. JR

Hinks, Roger Packman. *Caravaggio's "Death of the Virgin."* (Charlton Lectures on Art, 35.) London: Oxford U. Pr. 15 pp. 4s. 6d.

Lectures at King's College, University of Durham; written with distinction and learned without being pedantic. WGC

Holden, Philip Gifford. *Pascal: a short introduction to the study of the "Pensées."* (Little Books on Religion, 214.) London: S. P. C. K., 1951. 25 pp. 1s.

Horton-Smith, Lionel Graham Horton. *George Acworth (Born 1534) . . . ; a full account of his life together with his letters.* St. Albans: Campfield Pr. 43 pp. 10s. 6d.

Biography of the rather dissolute cleric, member of the household of Archbishop Parker, whom Acworth assisted in *De Antiquitate Britannica Ecclesiae;* contains Latin letters to Reginald Pole, Elizabeth I, Parker, and Lord Burghley.

Huizinga, J. *Erasmus of Rotterdam; with a selection from the letters of Erasmus.* New York: Phaidon Pubs. 276 pp. $2.95.

Translation of Huizinga by F. Hapman; of Erasmus, by Barbara Flower.

Jonson, Ben. *Volpone, or, the fox.* Illus. by René ben Sussan. (Limited Eds. Club.) New York: George Macy Cos. 192 pp. $12.50.

Of little scholarly interest; distinctive feature the illustrations. EWT

Kermode, Frank (ed.) *English pastoral poetry from the beginnings to Marvell.* New York: Barnes and Noble. 256 pp. (bibl.) $2.50.

Anthology ranging over three centuries, with introductory essay and notes. Leisurely, scholarly, emphasizing the relation of pastoral to the other kinds. TPH

Knowles, David, and R. Neville Hadcock. *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales.* New York: Longmans, Green. 388 pp. (maps) $9.00.

Summarizes the history of every monastic house in England and Wales from its foundation to its dissolution, with full bibliography for each. De-

finitive and indispensable to every historian of English music before 1550. TD

Lamb, Harold. *Suleiman the magnificent, sultan of the East.* London: Hale, 1952. 307 pp. (bibl.) 18s.
A lively popularization. HHG

Le Comte, Edward Semple. *Yet once more: verbal and psychological pattern in Milton.* New York: Liberal Arts Pr. 201 pp. $4.50.
A fruitful study of "recurrences of word and phrase" in Milton, shedding light on the working of the poet's mind.

Lee, Maurice. *James Stewart, earl of Moray: a political study of the Reformation in Scotland.* New York: Columbia U. Pr. 331 pp. (bibl.) $4.00.

Lindsay, Philip. *The secret of Henry VIII.* London: Meridian Books. 188 pp. 18s.

Lumsden, D. (ed.) *An anthology of English lute-music.* London: Schott. 64 pp. 12s. 6d.
Three dozen samples from an almost unknown repertory of more than two thousand pieces. In staff notation, but with full details of original tablature. A critical edition with full editorial comment. Dowland, Pilkington, Cutting, etc. TD

Manchester City Art Galleries. *Sixteenth century portraits of famous early Elizabethans: Coronation exhibition, 12 May–21 June.* Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries. 40 pp. 2s.

McFarlane, Kenneth Bruce. *John Wycliffe and the beginnings of English nonconformity.* (Teach Yourself Hist. Lib. Ser.) London: English Universities Pr. 197 pp. (bibl.) 7s. 6d.
As the title indicates, the story is carried beyond Wycliffe up to 1414. Like all the others in the series, this work is a popularization but by no means a rehash. The author all along displays independent work and judgment. RHB

McMahon, Norbert. *St. John of God; heavenly patron of the sick and dying, nurses, and hospitals.* New York: McMullen Books. 205 pp. $2.75.
A very readable undocumented life of the Spanish friar (d. 1550) who founded the Brothers Hospitallers, commonly known as the "Fatte Bene Fratelli," a society devoted to the care of sick men. RMH

Milton, John. *The complete English poems.* Ed. with introd. by John Gawsworth. (Macdonald Illus. Classic 25.) London: Macdonald. 548 pp. (bibl.) 10s. 6d.

Mourges, Odette de. *Metaphysical, baroque, & précieux poetry.* New York: Oxford U. Pr. 192 pp. $3.70.

National Gallery, London. *Earlier Italian schools.* London: National Gallery. 2 vols. 9 pp., 220 plates; 9 pp., 238 plates. 147s.
A continuation of the series of volumes of reproductions illustrating the catalogues of the gallery. A complete, adequately produced, and very reasonably priced record of one of the finest collections of early Italian paintings. WGC

O'Sullivan, Richard. *Edmund Plowden, 1518–1585.* London: Middle Temple. 28 pp. 3s. 6d.

Popham, Arthur Ewart. *The drawings of Parmigianino.* Ed. K. T. Parker. London: Faber. 71 pp., 72 plates. 42s.
Likely to be the standard book on the subject for many years. Learned, highly perceptive, and discriminating, incorporating previously unknown material. WGC

Post, Chandler Rathfon. *A history of Spanish painting.* Vol. XI: *The Valencian school in the early Renaissance.* (Harvard–Radcliffe Fine Arts Ser.) Cambridge: Harvard U. Pr. 495 pp., 202 illus.
A new volume in a monumental work, deservedly esteemed for its encyclopaedic character and scholarly precision. WGC

Przezdziecke, Renaud. *Diplomatic ventures and adventures: some experiences of British envoys at the court of Poland [1014–1795].* London: Polish Research Centre. 287 pp. 15s.

Two of the twelve chapters deal with English ambassadors before 1600, usually negotiating matters of trade. The material is mainly from the English state papers. GBP

Rembrandt (Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn) (1606–1669). Text by Wilhelm Koehler. (Pocket Lib. of Great Art, A 8.) New York: Harry M. Abrams and Pocket Books. No pp., illus. (bibl.) $.50.

Excellent text, with colored illustrations whose deficiencies reflect the inherent difficulty of reproducing Rembrandt satisfactorily in color. WGC

Roberts, Michael. *Gustavus Adolphus: a history of Sweden. 1611–1632.* Vol I: *1611–1626.* New York: Longmans. 599 pp. (bibl.) $12.50.

Rowse, Alfred Leslie. *The spirit of the Elizabethan age.* Glasgow: Junior Chamber of Commerce, 30 George Square, C. 2. 16 pp.

An address to the Glasgow Junior Chamber of Commerce and the public, May 28, 1953.

Scouloudi, Irene. *Panoramic views of London, 1600–1666, with some late adaptations: an annotated list.* London: Guildhall Lib. Priv. circulated typescript.

Seznec, Jean. *The survival of the pagan gods; the mythological tradition and its place in Renaissance humanism and art.* Tr. from the French by Barbara F. Sessions. (Bollingen Ser., 8.) New York: Pantheon. 392 pp. (bibl.) $6.50.

A good translation of the leading authority in its field. The Renaissance is the core of the book, but it covers also the later middle ages and is particularly useful on conditions after the Council of Trent. WGC

The Shakespeare stage: the quarterly bulletin of the Shakespeare Stage Society. No. 1 (June, 1953). London: Shakespeare Stage Soc., 96 Charlotte St., W. 1. Free to members.

Shipp, Horace. *The Flemish masters.* London: Newnes. 128 pp., 39 plates. 25s.

Slive, Seymour. *Rembrandt and his critics, 1630–1730.* The Hague: Nijhoff. 252 pp., 45 illus. 18 guilders.

This thorough and well documented investigation leads to the conclusion that although none of those early writers realized Rembrandt's full stature, he did have a much more "appreciative audience" than the seemingly ineradicable nineteenth-century Rembrandt myth would have us believe. WS

Soria, Martin S. *The paintings of Zurburan.* Complete ed. London: Phaidon Pr. 200 pp., 280 illus., 8 plates (bibl.) 55s.

A complete list of the known paintings by Zurburan, incorporating much new material. Well and fully illustrated. WGC

Spenser, Edmund. *The faerie queene.* (Heritage Pr. ed.) Illus. by John Austen and Agnes Muller Parker. New York: George Macy Cos. 1008 pp. $6.00.

The illustrations are undistinguished and the preface contributes nothing to the understanding of the poem, but the book fills a real need for a good text in less than six folio volumes yet in a more readable format than the one-volume student editions. JWB

Stoneham, Edward Thomas. *"Martyrs of Jesus"; the story of the Sussex martyrs of the Reformation.* 2d ed., rev. by A. L. Chapman. Fayre Place, Burgess Hill: Sussex Martyrs Commemoration Church. 56 pp. 2s. 6d.

Strachey, William. *The history of travaile into Virginia Britannica* (1610). Ed. by Louis B. Wright

and Virginia Freund. London: 2 Hakluyt Soc. 103.
The first edition of the most accurate manuscript of the book, now at Princeton. GBP

Sutherland, Monica. *La Fontaine.* London: Cape. 192 pp. (bibl.) 12s. 6d.

Swanson, George. *Tastes in London's history by a city ale conner.* Foreword by Sir Hugh Beazley. London: Allman. 107 pp. 21s.

Tallis, Thomas. *Complete keyboard works.* Ed. by D. Stevens. London: Hinrichsen. 42 pp. 7s. 6d.
Seventeen pieces, newly edited from the sources; mostly plain song settings. Of varying musical interest. Practical, scholarly. TD

Tenison, E. M. *Elizabethan England; being the history of this country "in relation to all foreign princes."* Vol. X: 1596–1598. Royal Leamington Spa: Sign of the Dove with the Griffin. 1528 pp. Priv. circulated.
A detailed survey of Elizabethan life and literature.

Theatre miscellany; six pieces connected with the seventeenth-century stage. (Luttrell Reprints, 14.) Oxford: for the Luttrell Soc. by Basil Blackwood. 129 pp.
Competently edited; includes pageants by Thomas Heywood, songs and masques in *The Tempest,* etc.

Vivian, Sylvanus P. (ed.) *The manor of Etchingham cum Salehurst.* (Sussex Record Soc. Pubs., 53.) Lewes: Barbican House. 383 pp.
Firmly grounded on a comprehensive survey of 1597, this detailed manorial history may become a model for future local historians.

Walker, Ernest. *A history of music in England.* 3d ed. Rev. and enl. by J. A. Westrup. New York: Oxford U. Pr., 1952. 479 pp. (bibl.) $9.50.
Pages 18–149 give the best available account of English music between 1400 and 1625. Up to date, judicial, with many musical examples. TD

Wallace, Ronald Stewart. *Calvin's doctrine of the Word and Sacrament.* Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 265 pp. 18s.
Calvin's statements, mainly from *Commentaries,* on the Word as Mediator, Scripture, preaching; and on Sacrament as sign of the Word and means of Grace. According to the preface, "not a critical study . . . but an attempt to express his teachings as copiously . . . and sympathetically as possible." No indices, bibliographies, or references to other studies. CT

Waterhouse, Ellis Kirkham. *Painting in Britain, 1530–1790.* (Pelican Hist. of Art, Z1.) Baltimore: Penguin Books. 475 pp. (bibl.), plates. $8.50.
An indispensable book. Learned, incorporating much new material, and written with distinction. The cursory treatment of certain topics (e.g., miniatures) probably reflects the author's disinclination to discuss subjects on which he feels he is not an authority. WGC

Wellesz, Emmy. *Akbar's religious thought reflected in Mogul painting.* New York: Macmillan. 64 pp., 40 plates. $3.00.

Wilde, Johannes. *Michelangelo and his studio: Italian drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum.* London: British Museum. 162 pp., 154 plates. 42s.
Far more than an excellent catalogue of a great collection, this book is a basic contribution to what one might call a conservative revolution in the criticism of Michelangelo's drawings. WS

Wilenski, Reginald Howard. *Hieronymus Bosch (born before 1460: died 1516); with an introd. and nn. by R. H. Wilenski* (Faber Gallery Ser.) London: Faber. 24 pp., 10 plates. 9s. 6d.

Wittkower, Rudolf. *Architectural principles in the age of humanism.*

London: Alec Tiranti. 156 pp., 10 figs., 44 plates. $6.00.

This book provides the theoretical basis of an architecture unique in artistic development in that it was formed from without—i.e., was the product of philosophizing about eternal principles. The first chapter, on the theory of centrally planned churches, might have contained more in the way of the liturgical history of such churches; and here, as in the fourth chapter, on the relation of theories of architectural proportion to medieval and ancient musical theory, perhaps the author has touched a problem of continuity through the middle ages rather than a question of establishing architecture anew on a purely theoretical basis. WSB

III. FRENCH

Contributing Editor: Raymond Lebegue, University of Paris

Annales musicologiques, I. Dir. G. Thibault. Paris: 70, rue du Bac, VIIe. 414 pp. $9.00.

Includes some substantial Renaissance items: e.g., Walker, "Ficino's 'Spiritus' and Music"; "Un manuscrit italien du début du XVIe s. à la Bibliothèque nationale" (with full thematic catalogue, concordances, etc.); Lesure and Thibault, "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin (1549–1576)"—this last a model for all music bibliographies. TD

Aru, C. and E. De Geradon. *Les primitifs Flamands, corpus de la peinture des anciens Pay-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle.* Antwerp: De Sikkel. 33 pp., 69 plates. 240 Belgian francs.

A catalogue of the Flemish paintings in the Pinacoteca Sabauda, Turin; the second volume in a series devoted to Flemish paintings of the fifteenth century. MM

Belvederi, Raffaeli. *Jérôme Savonarola, leçon faite à la Faculté de Lettres et de Théologie* [*de l'Université de Nimegue*]. Milan: Trevisini. 16 pp.

Huyghe, René; Magdeleine Mours; and Jean Rudel. *Connaissance de Léonard de Vinci.* Paris: Cercle français de l'art. 68 pp. 765 francs.

Léonard de Vinci et l'expérience scientifique au XVIe siècle. Paris: Presses universitaires. 273 pp., illus.

Six conferences held in 1952 at Paris by French and foreign historians of science. RL

Lesure, F. (general ed.) *Anthologie de la chanson parisienne au XVIe siècle.* Monaco: Lyre-Bird Pr. 158 pp. $10.00.

A splendid critical edition, giving a representative selection of 48 songs (mostly four-part) from the huge surviving repertory. French, English, and American editors. Handsomely published. TD

Pradel, Pierre. *Michel Colombe, le dernier imagier gothique.* Paris: Plon. 158 pp., 70 illus. 1,680 francs.

Puyvelde, Leo Van. *La peinture flamande au siècle des van Eyck.* Brussels: Elsevier. 356 pp., 200 figs., 5 plates. 495 Belgian francs.

Renaudet, Augustin. *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie, 1494–1517.* 2d ed. Paris: Lib. d'Argences. 803 pp. (bibl.) 3,900 francs.

An essential work. RL

Ronsard, Pierre de. *Sixiesme livre des Poemes, 1569.* Ed. by P. Laumonier. (Oeuvres complètes, 15, 1re partie.) Paris: Didier. 172 pp. 600 francs.

Edition revised by I. Silver and R. Lebègue. Gives a summary of all variants. RL

Roover, Raymond de. *L'évolution de la lettre de change, xiv-xviiie siècles.* Paris: Armand Colin.

The history of the bill of exchange,

which was not an independent instrument but a document used to execute a pre-existing contract. The critical bibliography of scholastic treatises on this contract should interest historians of social ethics.

Thevet, André. *A Brésil et les Brésiliens.* (Pays d'outre-mer, Les Classiques de la Colonisation, 2.) Paris: Presses universitaires. 375 pp. 1,200 francs.
Extracts from three works by Thevet. RL

Zeller, Gaston. *Les Temps modernes.* Vol. I: *De Christophe Colomb à Cromwell.* (Histoire des relations internationales, 2.) Paris: Hachette. 326 pp. (bibl.)
A large and reliable study of political and commercial problems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. RL

IV. GERMAN

Contributing Editors:
HANS KAUFFMANN,
University of Cologne
SIEGFRIED KORNINGER,
University of Innsbruck

Alt, Robert. *Der fortschrittliche Charakter der Pädagogik Komenskys.* Ed. by the Deutsches Pädagogisches Zentralinstitut. Berlin: Volk und Wissen. 159 pp. 6.20 DM.

Althaus, Paul. *Luthers Haltung im Bauernkrieg.* Basel: B. Schwabe. 74 pp. 4.50 Swiss francs.

Andreas, Willy. *Der Bundschuh. Bauernverschwörungen am Oberrhein.* Karlsruhe: Braun. 72 pp. 2.40 DM.

Arnold, Peter. *Kaspar Jodok Stockalper vom Thurm, 1609–1691.* Mörel: P. Arnold. 211 pp. 16 Swiss francs.

Auckenthaler, Engelbert. *Geschichte der Höfe und Familien des obersten Eisacktals. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des 16. Jh.* (Schlernschriften, 96.) Innsbruck: U. Verl. Wagner. 292 pp. 192 Austrian shillings.

Baethgen, Friedrich Wilhelm Adolf. *Europa im Spätmittelalter: Grundzuge seiner politischen Entwicklung.* London: Bailey and Swinfen. 160 pp. (bibl.) 24s.
A masterful survey, based on a thorough knowledge of sources and scholarly literature. FG

Beiträge zur Geschichte der Beschreibstoffe im Mittelalter. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der päpstlichen Kanzlei. Vol. I. (Mitteilungen des Inst. f. österr. Geschichtsforschung, Erg. Bd. 16, 1.) Graz: Böhlau. 220 pp. 72 Swiss francs.

Bianconi, Piero and Pierre Rebetez. *Renaissance.* (Reihe der Schweizer. pädagog. Schriften, 88.) Tr. from the French and Italian by A. Ackermann, Martin Simmen, Doris Waser-Holzgang. Zurich: Beckenhof. 64 pp. 2 Swiss francs.

Bittmann, Karl. *Die Ursprünge der französisch-mailändischen Allianz von 1463.* Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. 76 pp. 7.20 DM.

Bläser, Peter. *Rechfertigungsglaube bei Luther.* Münster i. Westphalia. Verl. d. Hiltruper Missionare. 61 pp. 3.30 DM.

Blaser, Robert Henri. *Neue Erkenntnisse zur Basler Zeit des Paracelsus.* (Nova acta Paracelsica, 6. Suppl.) Einsiedeln, Switz.: Paracelsus-Gesellschaft. 90 pp. 3.35 Swiss francs.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Liebe ist Seligkeit. Eine Auswahl aus dem Gesamtwerk.* Ed. by Wolfgang

Kraus. Vienna: Prachner. 155 pp. 24.80 Austrian shillings.

———. *Zehn sehr anmutige Geschichten aus dem Dekameron.* Tr. by Albert Wesselski. (Insel-Bücherei, 16.) Leipzig: Insel. 83 pp. 1.25 DM.

Brennecke, Wilfried. *Die Handschrift A. R. 940/41 der Proske-Bibliothek zu Regensburg.* Kassel: Bärenreiter. 96 pp. (bibl.) 8.00 DM.

A valuable contribution to the history of music of the second third of the sixteenth century, containing analyses and sources of lesser known musical works of the period. PAP

Brune, Friedrich. *Der Kampf um eine evangelische Kirche im Münsterland 1520–1802.* Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verl. 195 pp. 8.40 DM.

Buchner, Ernst. *Das deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und der frühen Dürerzeit.* (Denkmäler Deutscher Kunst herausgeben vom Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft.) Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft. 226 pp., 207 plates.

A collection comprising all examples of this medium from the first fruits of about 1365 (Duke Rudolph of Vienna) to the early Dürer and Cranach. Geographical and chronological arrangement; historical introduction and *catalogue raisonné.* HK

Bücker, Hermann. *Werner Rolevinck (1425–1502). Leben und Persönlichkeit im Spiegel d. Westfalenbuches.* (Geschichte und Kultur, 14.) Münster: Regensberg. 70 pp. 3.20 DM.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *Der Cicerone. Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens.* Cologne: Agrippina-Verlag. 637 pp. 8.50 DM.

———. *Kunst und Kultur der Renaissance in Italien.* Cologne: Agrippina-Verlag. 442 pp. 8.50 DM.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Der eifersüchtige Estremadurer. Der gläserne Lizentiat. 2 Novellen.* Tr. by Georg Spranger. (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, 7921.) Leipzig: Reclam. 102 pp. .45 DM.

———. *Der geniale Hidalgo Don Quijote von der Mancha.* Tr. by Ludwig Braunfels, nn. by W. Bahner, W. Krauss, and an essay by Karl Vossler. 2 vols. (Sammlung Dieterich, 150–151.) 709 pp., 777 pp. 17.50 DM.

———. *Leben und Taten des scharfsinnigen Ritters Don Quijote de la Mancha.* Tr. by Roland Schacht. Berlin: Aufbau-Verl. 325 pp. 4.50 DM.

Demandt, Karl E. *Regesten der Grafen von Katzenelnbogen, 1060–1486.* Vol. I. (Veröffentlichungen d. Hist. Kommission f. Nassau, 11.) Wiesbaden. 799 pp. Subscription price 45.00 DM.

Dörfler, Peter. *Niklaus von Flüe. Ein Bildnis.* Munich: Kösel-Verlag. 136 pp. 6.50 DM.

Engel, Wilhelm (ed.) *Das Seelbuch der Liebfrauenbruderschaft zu Würzburg: 12.-15. Jahrhundert. Necrologia episcopatus Herbipolensis II.* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg, 7.) Würzburg: Schöningh in Komm. 116 pp. 5.00 DM.

Feller, Richard. *Geschichte Berns.* Vol. II: *Von der Reformation bis zum Bauernkrieg, 1516–1653.* Bern: H. Lang & Cie. 692 pp. 33.30 Swiss francs.

Flatter, Richard. *Das Schauspielerische in der Diktion Shakespeares.* (Shakespeare-Schriften, 1.) Vienna: Kreig. 52 pp. 5 Austrian shillings.

Friedland, Klaus. *Der Kampf der Stadt Lüneburg mit ihren Landesherren. Stadtfreiheit und Fürstenhoheit im 16. Jahrhundert.* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, 53.) Hildesheim: Lax. 171 pp. 7.60 DM.

Frühe Italienische Kunst des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts: July 1–Sept. 15, 1953. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. Foreword by H. May, introd. by W. Braunfels. 24 pp., 9 plates.
Exhibition of pictures, chiefly from West German private collections, one tapestry (Cosimo Tura), and miniatures and drawings from the collection of engravings of the Cologne Museum. HK

Gennerich, Friedrich. *Altfranzösische Lieder.* Halle-Saale: Niemeyer. 92 pp. 5.85 DM.

Gerhard, Friedrich-Wilhelm. *Johannes Calvin, Reformator und Kämpfer.* Constance, Germ.: Christliche Verl. Anst. 31 pp. .60 DM.

Gloede, Günter. *Calvin, Weg und Werk.* Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang. 152 pp. 4.80 DM.

Goethes Werke. Hamburg ed. Vol. XII (of 14 vols.): *Schriften zur Kunst, Schriften zur Literatur, Maximen und Reflexionen.* Hamburg: Christian Wegner. 742 pp.
The *Writings on Art* have comments by Herbert von Einem. They concern German art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Mantegna, Leonardo ("Last Supper"), Jacob van Ruisdael, *et al.* HK

Grauer, Karl Johannes. *Paris Lodron, Erzbischof von Salzburg. Ein Staatsmann des Friedens.* (Salzburger Monographien, 2.) Salzburg: Das Berglandbuch. 210 pp. 85 Austrian shillings.

Hantsch, Hugo. *Die Geschichte Österreichs.* Vol. I: to 1648. Graz: Styria. 424 pp. 81 Austrian shillings.

Hauser, Arnold. *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur.* 2 vols. Munich: Beck. 547, 594 pp.
Translation into German of *The Social History of Art,* London, 1951. HK

Helbig, Herbert. *Die Reformation der Universität Leipzig im 16. Jahrhundert.* (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, 171.) Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 142 pp. 12.00 DM.

Hempel, Eberhard. *Nikolaus von Cues in seinen Beziehungen zur bildenden Kunst.* (Berichte über d. Verhandlgn. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig. Philol.-hist. Kl., Vol. 100, No. 3.) Berlin: Akademie-Verl. 42 pp. 2.80 DM.

Heydenreich, Ludwig Heinrich. *Leonardo da Vinci.* 2 vols. Basel: Holbein-Verlag. 229 pp. (bibl.); 22 pp., 176 plates.
A new and enlarged edition of the classic of 1944. Appreciation of the universal man in the mutual illumination of artist and thinker. Attitude of the scientist towards the middle ages, establishment of scientific drawing. HK

Hübscher, Bruno. *Die deutsche Predigerkongregation 1517–1520. Aufhebung, Kampf und Wiederherstellung.* Fribourg, Switz. 140 pp.

Hutton, G. *Englische Pfarrkirchen.* Photographs by Edwin Smith. Zurich: Atlantis. 192 pp., 226 plates.
Sumptuous inside and outside views of seldom illustrated parish churches, from the eighth to the early nineteenth centuries, including Perpendicular, Tudor, and Renaissance. Wooden ceilings and vaulting, wood carving, and sculpture. HK

Ignatius von Loyola. *So spricht Ignatius von Loyola.* Tr. by Fritz Werle. (Lebendige Quellen zum Wissen um die Ganzheit des Men-

schen.) Munich: O.W. Barth. 200 pp. 4.50 DM.

Internationaler Musikkongress Wien 1952. Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag. 164 pp., music. 38 Austrian shillings.

Israhel von Meckenhem, Goldschmidt und Kupferstecher am Niederrhein. Gedenkausstellung zum 450 Todestags des Künstlers 1503–1953. Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. 31 plates.

Catalogue of exhibition, with foreword by H. May. HK

Israhel von Meckenhem. Goldschmied and Kupferstecher gestorben 1503 in Bocholt. Uur 450 Wiederkehr seines Todestags herausgegeben von der Stadt Bocholt. 70 pp., 52 plates.

Festschrift with contributions on the artist's life, his work as goldsmith, his work as an engraver and his place in the development of German engraving in the fifteenth century, and on the engravings as sources for culture history. HK

Jaspers, Karl. *Leonardo als Philosoph.* Basel: Francke. 77 pp.

Essay of the Basel philosopher on the relation of art and science in Leonardo's thought, on his methods, and their lack of a uniform system. HK

John, Robert L. *Reich und Kirche im Spiegel französischen Denkens. Das Rombild von Caesar bis Napoleon.* Vienna: Gerold & Co. 267 pp. 55 Austrian shillings.

Juan de la Cruz. *Johannes vom Kreuz. Aufstieg zum Berge Karmel* (La subida al monte Carmelo, Ausz. Deutsch.) Ed. by Friedrich Wessely. Vienna: Heiler. 87 pp. 27 Austrian shillings.

Kamnitzer, Heinz. *Zur Vorgeschichte des Deutschen Bauernkrieges.* Berlin: Rütten & Loenig. 143 pp. 7.30 DM.

Kaufmann-Hagenbach, Annie. *Die Basler Plastik des Fünfzehnten und Frühen Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts.* (Basler Stud. zur Kunstgeschichte, X.) Basel: Birkhauser. 80 pp., 120 plates. 12.50 Swiss francs.

Kleinschmidt, Karl. *Martin Luther. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Reformation.* Berlin: Kongress-Verl. 150 pp. 3.50 DM.

Kongress-bericht Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft Utrecht 1952. Amsterdam: Alsbach. 468 pp. 8.00 DM.

Includes many Renaissance items: e.g., Schade, "Renaissance: the Historical Conception of an Epoch"; Engel, "Die Entstehung des italienischen Madrigales und die Niederländer"; Glahn, "Entwicklungszüge innerhalb des evangelischen Kirchengesanges des 16. Jhts."; Wolff, "Der Stil-begriff der 'Renaissance' in der Musik der alten Niederländer"; etc. TD

Koudelka, Vladimir J. *Heinrich von Bitterfeld (+ ca. 1405), Professor an der Universität Prag.* Diss. theol. Fribourg, Switz.

Kressner, Helmut. *Schweizer Ursprünge des anglikanischen Staatskirchentums.* (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, 170.) Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 136 pp. 12.00 DM.

Krieg, Walter. *Materialien zu einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Bücher-Preise und des Autoren-Honorars vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Nebst einem Anhange: Kleine Notizen zur Auflagengeschichte der Bücher im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert.* Zurich: H. Stubenrauch. 250 pp. 25 Swiss francs.

Despite the title, the discussion of book prices and payments to authors is largely limited to post-eighteenth century. The reader has to take the author's word for practically all of his statements since no sources of information are given. More organization and clarity would have done the book no harm. SK

Ladendorf, Heinz. *Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie. Vorarbeiten zu einer Darstellung ihrer Bedeutung in der mittel alterlichen und neuren Zeit.* (Abhandlungen der Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig. Philol.-hist. Kl., Vol. 46, Pt. 2.) Berlin: Akademie-Verl. 190 pp., 50 plates.

Concise and very rich survey of the use of antique sculpture in European art from Carolingian times to nineteenth-century classsicism. Thorough commentary, indices, and documentation. HK

Lehmann, Jakob and Hans Göttling. *Quellen zur Kulturgeschichte der Renaissance.* (Schöninghs geschichtliche Reihe.) Paderborn: Schöningh. 16 pp. .80 DM.

Luther, Martin. *Luther Deutsch. Die Werke Martin Luthers.* Vol. IX. *A new selection for the present time by Kurt Aland.* Berlin: Evangelische Verl. Anst. 316 pp. 6.00 DM.

Mächte des Schicksals. Enzyklopädie anthropologischer Wissenschaften, okkulter Lehren und magischer Künste. Vienna: Marathon-Ed. 1106 pp. 280 Austrian shillings.

Meissinger, Karl August. *Luther. Die deutsche Tragödie 1521.* (Sammlung Dalp, 35.) Bern: Francke. 192 pp. 6.80 Swiss francs.

Möbus, Gerhard. *Politik des Heiligen. Geist und Gesetz der Utopia des Thomas Morus.* Berlin: Morus-Verl. 92 pp. 3.40 DM.

Montaigne, Michel de. *Die Essais.* Selected and tr., with introd. by Arthur Franz. (Sammlung Dieterich, 137.) Leipzig: Dieterich. 444 pp. 7.00 DM.

More, Thomas. *Trost in Trübsal. (A Dyalogue of coumfort agaynst tribulacion.)* Tr. by R. Schnabel. (Stifterbibliothek. Klassiker der Staatskunst, 2.) Munich: Verlagsgemeinschaft Stifterbibliothek. 63 pp. 12 Austrian shillings.

Moro, Gotbert (ed.) *Beiträge zur älteren europäischen Kulturgeschichte.* Vol. II: *Festschrift f. Rudolf Egger.* Klagenfurt: Geschichtsverein f. Kärnten. 436 pp. 230 Austrian shillings.

Müller, Karl Otto. *Quellen zur Verwaltungs und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Grafschaft Hohenberg. Vom Übergang an Österreich (1381) bis zum Ende der reichsstädtischen Pfandschaft (1454).* (Württembergische Geschichtsquellen, 24.) Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 419 pp. 18.00 DM.

Noltensmeier, Hermann. *Reformatorische Einheit. Das Schriftverständnis bei Luther und Calvin.* Graz: Böhlau. 94 pp. 32 Austrian shillings.

Oertel, Robert. *Die Frühzeit der italienischen Malerei.* (Urban-Bücher herausgegeben von F. Ernst und K. Gutbrod.) Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 247 pp., 56 plates.

Well-informed critical and historical survey of Italian painting from early Christian antiquity to the end of the Trecento. Ample discussion of Giotto (Assisi), the Sienese, and North Italians. Full scholarly apparatus. HK

Paatz, Walter. *Die Kunst der Renaissance in Italien.* (Urban-Bücher herausgegeben von F. Ernst und K. Gutbrod.) Zurich: Europa-Verlag. 240 pp., 48 plates. 4.60 Swiss francs.

The concept and spread of Renaissance art. A concise account, with a backward glance at the fourteenth-century beginnings and a look forward to the Hochrenaissance and A. Dürer. Takes into consideration all media, including graphic and printing arts, miniatures, and decoration. HK

Paatz, Walter and Elisabeth. *Die Kirchen von Florenz.* Vols. III

(Ss. Maccabei—S. Maria Novella), IV (S. Maria Nuova—S. Pulinare), and V (Q–Z). Frankfort: Vittorio Klostermann, 1952–53. 845, 701, 416 pp. (illus.) 85.00, 72.00, and 45.00 DM.

This completes Mr. and Mrs. Paatz's admirable and wholly indispensable work on the architecture and contents (past and present) of all Florentine churches. Reprints of the first two volumes and an index volume are being prepared. WS

Pfandl, Ludwig. *Philipp II. Gemälde eines Lebens und einer Zeit.* Munich: Callwey. 561 pp. 17.50 DM.

Pittaluga, M. *Die Sixtinische Kapelle.* Rome: Del Turco. 60 pp. (illus.)

Rabelais, François. *Ein Material zur Ausgestaltung von Feierstunden anlässlich der 400. Wiederkehr seines Todestages.* Ed. in collaboration with the Deutscher Friedensrat. Berlin: Kulturbund zur demokrat. Erneuerung Deutschlands. 39 pp. .55 DM.

Renner, Johannes. *Livländische Historien. 1556–1561. Zum 1. Mal nach d. Urschr. hrsg. by Peter Karstedt.* (Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek Lübeck, new ser., 2.) Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild. 179 pp. 12.00 DM.

Rich, Arthur. *Pascals Bild vom Menschen. Eine Studie über die Dialektik von Natur und Gnade in den "Pensées."* (Studien zur Dogmengeschichte und systemat. Theologie, 3.) Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag. 214 pp. 13.40 Swiss francs.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. *Italienische Novellen aus Mittelalter und Renaissance.* (Sammlung roman. Übungstexte, 35.) Halle: Niemeyer. 108 pp. 3.60 DM.

Sachs, Hans. *Drei Hans-Sachs-Spiele.* (Schriftenreihe Laienspiel, 9.) Hanover: Verl. Schaffende Jugend. 24 pp. 1.00 DM.

———. *Von List, Torheit und Betrug. 2 Komödien.* Ed. by H. U. Wendler. (Dramatischer Zirkel; Wendler: Hans Sachs, 4.) Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verl. 55 pp. 1.60 DM.

Seckel, Emil. *Paläographie der juristischen Handschriften des 12. bis 15. und der juristischen Drucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts.* Ed. by Erich Genzmer. 16 pp. 1.50 DM.

Shakespeare, William. *Ein Sommernachtstraum.* Tr. by Theodor v. Zeynek. (Stifterbibliothek. Klassiker d. Bühne, 24.) Munich: Stifterbibliothek. 96 pp. 10 Austrian shillings.

———. *Shakespeare. Ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit.* Ed. by Walther Victor. (Lesebücher für unsere Zeit.) Weimar: Thüringer Volks-Verl. 509 pp. 6.50 DM.

———. *Shakespeare. Neu übers. von Richard Flatter.* Vol. II: *Die Zähmung der Widerspenstigen, Mass für Mass, Romeo and Julia, König Lear.* Vienna: W. Kreig. 636 pp. 85 Austrian shillings.

An excellent translation will be welcomed by the public, particularly by actors. It is more modern in diction than the translation of Schlegel-Tieck and reads more smoothly and fluently, but in places sacrifices closeness to the original, especially in the rendering of Shakespearean imagery. SK

Siebenmann, Gustav, *Über Sprache und Stil im Lazarillo de Tormes.* (Romanica Helvetica, 43.) Bern: A. Francke. 125 pp. 12.00 Swiss francs.

Smirnov, A. A. *Das Werk Shakespeares.* Tr. from the Russian by

Horst Höhne. (Literatur und Gesellschaft, 9.) Berlin: Verl. Kultur u. Fortschritt. 40 pp. .65 DM.

Staemmler, Klaus-Dietrich. *Preussen und Livland in ihren Verhältnis zur Krone Polen 1561 bis 1586.* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost-Mittel-Europas, 8.) Marburg/Lahn: Johann Gottfried-Herder-Institut. 118 pp. 7.50 DM.

Stern, Leo. *Martin Luther und Philipp Melanchthon—ihre ideologische Herkunft und geschichtliche Leistung, Eine Studie der materiellen und geistigen Triebkräfte und Auswirkungen der deutschen Reformation.* Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 118 pp. 2.30 DM.

Stevens, D. (ed.) *Altenglische Orgelmusik.* Kassel: Bärenreiter. 40 pp. $2.00.
Fifteen pieces, most of them hitherto unpublished, from *ca.* 1520 to 1580. No editorial comments, but otherwise a scholarly edition. TD

Thomas à Kempis. *Die Nachfolge Christi. Neu übertr. nach dem herkömmlichen lateinischen Urtext mit den Anmerkungen von F. de Lamennais.* Einsiedeln: Benzinger. 319 pp. 8.55 Swiss francs.

———. *Heilige Christnacht. Fest der Seele.* Selected, tr., and ed. by Ludwig Deimel. Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verl. 7 pp. 1.50 DM.

Weise, Georg. *Dürer und die Ideale der Humanisten.* (Tübinger Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte, 6.) Tübingen: Ensslin & Laiblin. 51 pp.
The departure of German humanists from scholastic thought and the turn towards simplicity and clarity of expression, and the elevation of the concept of God to greatness and dignity are here worked out as parallel efforts of Dürer's artistic struggle. HK

V. ITALIAN

Contributing Editor:
REVILO P. OLIVER,
University of Illinois

Altamura, Antonio (ed.) *Testi napoletani del Quattrocento.* (Novantiqua Romanica, IV.) Naples: Viti. 163 pp. 1,700 L.
Texts in dialect edited with notes and glossary. RPO

Baldi, Sergio. *La poesia di Sir Thomas Wyatt, il primo petrarchista inglese.* (Collana letteraria.) Florence: Le Monnier. 267 pp. 950 L.
A full biographical and critical study, particularly important for a new approach to the study of Wyatt's metrics. JA

Banti, Anna. *Lorenzo Lotto, con regesti, note e cataloghi di Antonio Boschetto.* (Biblioteca di Proporzioni.) Florence: Sansoni. 145 pp., 126 plates.

Baroni, C., and S. Samek Lodovici. *La pittura lombarda del Quattrocento.* (Biblioteca di cultura contemporanea, XXXI.) Messina: D'Anna. 284 pp., 102 plates.

Bassi-Rathgeb, Roberto. *Il Lotto e il Romanino negli affreschi della Val Calepio.* Bergamo: Secomandi. 18 pp., 13 plates.

Bernardini, Antonio, and Gaetano Righi. *Il concetto di filologia e di cultura classica dal Rinascimento ad oggi.* 2d ed. Bari: Laterza. 769 pp., 5,000 L.
This book is not an historical study but the exposition of an essentially Crocean conception of the function of literary studies; the chapters on the Renaissance (pp. 1–96) are a series of rather desultory notes which are frequently suggestive but give neither an adequate account of the views of the authors mentioned nor an outline of the evolution of Humanistic philology. RPO

Bianconi, Piero (ed.) *Tutta la pittura del Correggio.* (Biblioteca d'arte.) Milan: Rizzoli. 64 pp., 68 plates.

Campanella, Tommaso. *Della necessità di una filosofia cristiana. Prima traduzione italiana con introduzione e commento di R. Amerio.* Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale. 98 pp. 300 L.
The introduction is interesting but adds little to our knowledge of Campanella. RPO

Carra, C. *La capella degli Scrovegni.* Milan: Pozzi. 18 pp., 29 plates.

Cianchi, R. *Leonardo e la sua famiglia, con appendice di documenti inediti.* Milan: Stucchi. 107 pp.

Cocito, Luciana. *Un poeta del secolo XV* [Antonello Petrucci]. Alessandria, Ferrari: Occella e C. 69 pp.
Traces the history of the manuscript of the "Canzoniere del Conte di Policastro" now in the Nazionale at Naples, and discusses the poet's personality, literary capacities, and linguistic peculiarities. RPO

Coletti, Luigi. *Lotto.* Bergamo: La Rotonda. 64 pp., 29 plates.

———. *Pisanello.* Milan: Pizzi. 32 pp., 31 plates.

Comandè, G. B. *Michelangelo.* Palermo: Sciascia. 119 pp., 20 plates.

Curcio, Carlo. *Machiavelli nel Risorgimento.* (Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto di filosofia del diritto dell' Università di Roma, XXV.) Milan: Giuffrè. 145 pp. 800 L.

D'Amico, Silvio. *Storia del teatro drammatico.* Milan: Garzanti. 4 vols. 353, 455, 429, 500 pp. 1,600 L (vols. not sold separately).
The Renaissance is treated in the second volume of this profusely illustrated history of the stage; the text will be of scant value to scholars, but some illustrations of theaters and performances are taken from rare contemporary prints and drawings. RPO

D'Ancona, Paolo. *Dieci secoli di pittura italiana: Il secolo XV: Maestri toscani e umbri.* Milan: Pizzi. 9 pp., 40 plates.

de Campos, Deoclecio Redig. *Affreschi della cappella Paolina.* Milan: Pizzi. 18 pp., 30 plates.

Della Chiesa, Angela O. *Bernardino Luini.* (Collana di monografie d'arte.) Milan: Electra. 38 pp., 68 plates.

Di Pietro, A. *Il noviziato di Torquato Tasso.* Milan: Malfasi. 181 pp.

Di Pino, Guido. *La polemica del Boccaccio.* Florence: Vallecchi. 259 pp. 900 L.
The "polemic" is merely a matter of verbal devices and choice of language; the study of these in terms of the total linguistic resources presumably available to Boccaccio purports to be the application of an entirely new critical method. RPO

Donati, Lamberto. *Chi furono gli Accademici della Crusca che prepararono la Divina Commedia del 1595.* (Biblioteca degli eruditi e dei bibliofili.) Florence: Sansoni. 24 pp., 34 facs. 800 L.

Ferrara, Mario. *Girolamo Savonarola; discorso tenuto a Ferrara per commemorare il V. centenario della nascita di Fra G. S.* Ferrara: Industrie Grafiche. 51 pp.

Fiocco, G. *La capella Ovetari nella chiesa degli Eremitani.* Milan: Pizzi. 40 pp., 23 plates.

Fubini, Mario, and Ettore Bonora. *Antologia della critica letteraria.* Vol. II: *Dall'Umanesimo alla fine del Seicento.* Turin: Petrini. 602 pp. 1,400 L.
An anthology of literary criticism; most of the selections conform to the aesthetic principles of De Sanctis and Croce, but there are occasional selections from critics of divergent or diametrically opposed tendencies. RPO

Giovannozzi, Lucia. *Contributo alla bibliografia delle opere del Savon-*

arola: edizioni dei secc. XV e XVI. Florence: Giuntina. 170 pp. 1,700 L.

Guicciardini, Francesco. *Opere.* Ed. by Vittorio De Caprariis. (La letteratura italiana: storia e testi, XXX.) Milan: Ricciardi. 1110 pp. 5,000 L.

The editor has made his selections with great care and skill; he gives in full, on the basis of the latest critical editions, the texts of the two autobiographical works, the *Ricordi,* the short *A sè stesso* and *Consolatoria,* the *Relazioni di Spagna* and *della difesa di Parma,* the *Considerazioni intorno ai Discorsi del Machiavelli,* and the recently discovered *Cose fiorentine* (first published in 1945). The *Storie fiorentine* (which the editor regards as a kind of political manifesto) and the *Dialogo del reggimento* are represented by selections. Almost two-thirds of the volume is devoted to well-chosen portions of the *Storia d'Italia.* RPO

Hours, Madelaine. *Nuovi studî pinacologici su Leonardo da Vinci.* Milan: Stucchi. 30 pp.

Il Rinascimento: significato e limiti. Atti del III. Convegno Internazionale sul Rinascimento. Florence: Sansoni. 211 pp. 1,500 L.

Texts of the six principal papers and digests of the discussion they provoked. Saitta's concise and cogent contrast between medieval and Renaissance thought is supplemented by Bosco's discussion of the literature. Salmi places the transition from medieval to Renaissance art at the close of Giotto's career. In the economic history of Italy, according to Sapori, the major changes took place before the cultural Renaissance began. Barbadoro discusses the development of political theory after humanistic criticism demolished the supposed legality of the Empire. Pincherle finds in the religious tendencies of the Renaissance an element which, thwarted by the new orthodoxies of Reformation and Counter Reformation, found its final expression in the concept of a *respublica litterarum* transcending doctrinal differences. RPO

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Il pensiero filosofico di Marsilio Ficino.* (Biblioteca storica del Rinascimento, N. S. III.) Florence: Sansoni. 511 pp. 5,000 L.

The Italian text of this monumental study, now published after a delay of fifteen years, will for the scholar supplant the English version (New York, 1943). It is at some points fuller, contains subsequent revisions and additions, and presents the numerous quotations from Ficino and other sources in the original, rather than through the inevitably obscuring veil of a translation. RPO

Lauro Etrusco [Giuseppe Caciagli]. *Significato e limiti della civiltà del Rinascimento in Italia.* Florence: Umanità Nuova. 160 pp.

Leonardo nel V. centenario della nascita, a cura del Liceo Scientifico "Leonardo da Vinci" di Firenze. Florence: Giuntina. 119 pp., 5 plates.

A collection of twelve articles, chiefly interpretive or dealing with Leonardo's reputation abroad (England, Russia). Particularly noteworthy: F. Chiappelli, "Osservazioni su alcuni testi di L."; A. Minicucci, "L. e il latino"; A. Procissi, "L. e le scienze fisico-matematiche." RPO

Lezioni di letteratura italiana di Dino Alasia et al. Novara: La Tipografica. 423 pp.

A series of short summarizing essays on the history of Italian literature; includes P. Magrassi, "L'uomo politico del '500" and "Ariosto," E. Bertolotto, "L'età di Tasso." RPO

Luini, Bernardino. *Mostra di Luini, Villa Comunale dell'Olmo, Como.* Como: Nani. 55 pp., 30 plates.

Luporini, Cesare. *La mente di Leonardo.* (Biblioteca storica del Rinascimento, N. S. II.) Florence: Sansoni. 197 pp., 4 plates. 1,500 L.

A careful analytical study which oppugns the Crocean view that Leonardo was "antiphilosophical" by finding in his thought a systematic structure based on the proposition that all phenomena are governed by natural laws which must be ascertained empirically,

and that even the human "spirit" is merely a function of corporeal structure. RPO

Margiotta, G. *Le origini italiane de "La querelle des anciens et des modernes."* Rome: Studium. 192 pp. 1,200 L.
The author contends that Petrarch, by rejecting the "literature of the people" and making humanistic erudition, which was accessible only to the few who had leisure and intellectual capacity for long and arduous studies, the criterion of literary value, sundered art and life. This produced an essentially artificial literature and a series of critical dilemmas, which were insoluble until Romanticism effected a new fusion between literary creation and contemporary life. RPO

Montanari, Fausto. *La poesia del Machiavelli.* (Cultura, XII.) Rome: Studium. 88 pp. 500 L.

Moriondo, M. (comp.) *Mostra di Luca Signorelli.* Florence: Ariani. 190 pp. (illus.) 800 L.

Pane, Roberto. *Bernini architetto.* Venice: Neri Pozza. 128 pp., 185 plates. 5,000 L.
A study of the artist's life and career, supplemented by an index of his works and a fine series of plates. RPO

Parazzoli, Guido. *Savonarola politico, esercitazioni di storia moderna.* Milan: Goliardica. 104 pp. 800 L.

Parrino, Leonardo. *Come sorride l' Ariosto: contributo alla critica del Furioso, prima parte.* (Collana di critica.) Ancona: Spoltore. 132 pp.
A pleasant essay on the poet's humor and irony. RPO

Pedretti, Carlo. *Documenti e memorie riguardanti Leonardo da Vinci a Bologna e in Emilia;* in appendice, scritti e disegni inediti di Leonardo. Bologna: Fiammenghi. 351 pp., 48 plates.
An important collection of new material. RPO

Penna, Mario. *La parabola dei tre anelli e la tolleranza nel Medio Evo.* Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier. 157 pp. 1,000 L.
An examination of the sources and variants of the tale in the *Decameron* which seems to equate Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, leads to the conclusion that Boccaccio was never, under any circumstances, guilty of impiety or irreverence. RPO

Petrarca, Francesco. *Contro un medico, introduzione, traduzione e note a cura di Emilio Di Leo.* Salerno: Di Giacoma. 155 pp. 1,000 L.
The introduction and notes are distinctly useful. RPO

———. *Rime e Trionfi, a cura di Ferdinando Neri con una nota biografica di Enrico Carrara.* (Classica Italiani, XII.) Turin: Unione Tipografica Editrice. 620 pp. 2,100 L.
An edition for the general reader. RPO

Pieri, Piero. *Machiavelli e la politica del suo tempo.* Turin: Gheroni. 223 pp.
Manual for a university course. RPO

Pignatti, Terisio. *Lorenzo Lotto.* (Biblioteca moderna Mondadori, 337.) Milan: Mondadori. 181 pp., 151 plates. 400 L.

Pilla, Eugenio. *Michelangelo Buonarroti.* Alba (Cuneo): Paoline. 173 pp., 12 plates. 650 L.

Puliatti, Pietro. *La letteratura ascetica e mistica del Quattrocento.* Catania: Camene. 142 pp. 800 L.

Rinuccini, Alamanno. *Lettere ed orazioni, a cura di Vito R. Giustiniani.* (Nuova collezione di testi umanistici inediti o rari, IX.) Florence: Olschki. 307 pp. 2,500 L.
An excellent critical edition of all the known works of this minor humanist with the exception of his *Dialogus de libertate,* the supplements to his father's *Ricordi storici,* and the texts of the translations from the Greek. The fact that Rinuccini was not a professional scholar makes him a significant example of the pervasive humanism of the Medicean age. RPO

Rossi, Vittorio. *Storia letteraria d' Italia: Il Quattrocento.* 5ª ristampa riveduta e corretta, con supplemento bibliografico (1932–1953) a cura di Aldo Vallone. Milan: Vallardi. 589 pp.

Russo, Luigi. *Le opere volgari del Poliziano.* Pisa: Goliardica. 58 pp.

Russoli, Franco. *Tutta la scultura di Michelangelo.* (Biblioteca d'arte.) Milan: Rizzoli. 77 pp., 128 plates. 1,000 L.

Salmi, Mario. *Luca Signorelli.* Novara: De Agostini. 72 pp., 12 plates.

Sancipriano, Mario. *Uomo e natura nell'estetismo morale dal Rinascimento al secolo XVIII.* Turin: Impronta.

Sapegno, Natalino. *Commento alle Rime del Poliziano.* Rome: Ateneo. 336 pp. 1,800 L.

Sartori, Claudio. *Bibliografia della Musica Strumentale Italiana.* Florence: Olschki, 1952. 677 pp. 12,500 L.

Attempts to do for instrumental music, 1517–1700, what Vogel did for vocal music. Omits all music for plucked instruments and all manuscripts. Each work is listed with full transcription of title page, dedication, preface, list of contents, and location of copies. Indispensable though not definitive. TD

———. *Monteverdi.* Brescia: La Scuola. 236 pp. 400 L.

Schiavo, Armando. *La vita e le opere architettoniche di Michelangelo.* Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. 311 pp., 19 plates.

Sciacca, Giuseppe Maria. *Il concetto di tiranno dai Greci a Coluccio Salutati.* Palermo: Manfredi. 109 pp. 1,200 L.

Salutati first freed the concept of tyranny from irrelevant philosophical and moral considerations and formulated it in the strictly juridical terms of modern political theory. RPO

Sisi, Enrico. *L'urbanistica negli studî di Leonardo da Vinci.* Florence: Cencetti. 77 pp., 10 plates.

Solimene, G. *Gaspare Broglio Tartaglia e l'importanza della sua cronaca inedita manoscritta del secolo XV.* Naples: Moles. 41 pp. 350 L.

Spallici, Anna (comp.) *Livio Agresti detto il Ricciutino, pittore forliviese del Cinquecento.* Forlì: La Pié. 35 pp. 17 plates. 350 L.

Tanaglia, Michelangelo. *De agricultura,* testo inedito del secolo XV publicato e illustrato da Aurelio Roncaglia, con introduzione di Tammaro De Marinis. (Collezione di opere inedite o rare pubblicate a cura della Commissione per i testi di lingua.) Bologna: Palmaverde. 203 pp.

Teatro italiano del Cinquecento, [a catalogue compiled] con la collaborazione di L. Diotallevi. Milan: Chiesa. 132 pp. 500 L.

Testi umanistici su la retorica, testi editi e inediti su Retorica e Dialettica di Mario Nizolio, Francesco Patrizi e Pietro Ramo, a cura di Eugenio Garin, Paolo Rossi, Cesare Vasoli. (Archivio di Filosofia.) Rome: Bocca. 157 pp. 1,000 L.

The title must be a publisher's blunder; the only edited text in this book is the short *Primae philosophiae liber* of Patricius (pp. 48–55). The principal contents are (1) a suggestive series of notes on Renaissance rhetoric by Garin; (2) Rossi's analysis of the *De principiis* of Nizolius; and (3) Vasoli's excellent survey of Ramus' career and attempted *reformatio studiorum.* RPO

Tiepolo: 150 disegni dei musei di Trieste. Florence: Cenacolo. 36 pp., 20 plates.

Trograncic, F. *Storia della letteratura croata: Dall'umanesimo alla rinascita nazionale.* Rome: Studium. 375 pp. 2,500 L.

Turcio, G. *La cappella Sistina.* Rome: Belardetti. 15 pp., 43 plates.

Umanesimo e mondo moderno, prefazione di A. Guidotti. (Umanesimo e cristianità, III.) Rome: Studium Christi. 203 pp.

G. Toffanin's "Interpretazione dell'umanesimo rinascimentale" restates his well-known views; the other articles are centered on contemporary questions. RPO

Valla, Lorenzo. *Scritti filosofici e religiosi,* traduzione, prefazione e note di Giorgio Radetti. (Classici della filosofia, VI.) Florence: Sansoni. 508 pp. 2,000 L.

Presumably an attempt to popularize Valla by providing translations for Italians who may have forgot their Latin; the notes are not extensive. RPO

Zampetti, Pietro. *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche.* (Collana di studî archeologici ed artistici marchigiani, III.) Urbino: Istituto Statale d'Arte. 93 pp., 24 plates.

———. *Mostra di Lorenzo Lotto, Palazzo Ducale, Venezia.* Venice: Arte Veneta. 211 pp. (illus.)

Zanco, Aurelio. *Le origini del teatro in Inghilterra.* Milan: Goliardica. 92 pp.

VI. NORWEGIAN

Contributing Editor:
MAREN-SOFIE ROSTVIG,
Oslo, Norway

Brodersen, Øistein Grieve. *Norge-Rom 1153–1953.* Tromsø: Peder Norbye. 49 pp.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in Norway, written by a Roman Catholic. MSR

Gaukstad, Øystein. *Norsk Folkemusikk. Ein Bibliografi.* Oslo: Grøndahl & Sønn. 84 pp. 11.10 Norwegian kroner.

A very useful bibliography of Norwegian folk music, listing collections, individual works, studies, biographies of artists and composers, music and dances for weddings, books on musical instruments, folk songs and dances, etc. MSR

Gjaerder, Per. *Norske Pryd-dører fra Middelalderen.* (Pubs. of Bergen U., 24.) Bergen: John Grieg, 1952. 273 pp. (bibl.) 30 Norwegian kroner.

A thorough and scholarly study of the history of ornamental doors in Norway, a history throughout connected with European traditions. Since few impulses reached comparatively sterile Renaissance Norway from abroad, medieval patterns long prevailed. English summary, pp. 242–65. MSR

Karstad, Oddrun. *Hamar Bispestols Historie 1153–1953.* Hamar: Church of Norway Pub. 162 pp.

A detailed survey of the history of Hamar bishopric. MSR

Kielland, Thor. B. *Norsk Billedvev 1550–1800.* Vol. I: *Vevkunsten hos herremann og borger.* (Fortids Kunst i Norske Bygder, Ser. II, No. 3.) Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag. 128 pp. 125 Norwegian kroner.

Deals with looms, weaving techniques, yarns and dyes, Norwegian traditions and immigrant craftsmen, Norwegian Renaissance tapestries, motifs, and designers. The golden age of Norwegian tapestry weaving shows in essence the best ingredients of the North European Renaissance blended with old native tradition. English summary, pp. 119–23. Excellent illustrations. MSR

VII. PORTUGUESE

Contributing Editors:
MANUEL DE PAIVA BOLEO,
University of Coimbra
FRANCISCO DA COSTA MARQUES,
Liceu D. João III, Coimbra

Carvalho Nunes, Virgínia de. *A lição camoniana.* Aveiro. pamphlet.

Coelho, Eduardo. *Leonardo de Vinci e o pensamento científico do século XVI.* Lisbon. pamphlet.

Cruz Sobral, Luís da. *Luís de Camões, poeta nacional.* Conferência. Lisbon. pamphlet.

Lucena e Vale, A. de. *Grão Vasco na história e na crítica.* Viseu. pamphlet.

Moreira Campos, José. *Da fantasia à realidade.* Vol. I: *Afonso de Albuquerque.* Lisbon.

Nogueira, Mário. *Leonardo de Vinci, cientista e técnico.* Porto, 1952. pamphlet.

Reis Santos, Luís. *Obras primas da pintura flamenga dos séculos XV e XVI em Portugal.* Lisbon.

Santos, Reinaldo dos. *O estilo manuelino.* Lisbon, 1952.

Silva Dias, José Sebastião da. *Portugal e a cultura europeia (Séculos XVI a XVIII).* Coimbra.

VIII. SPANISH

Contributing Editors:

INSTITUTE "NICOLAS ANTONIO" OF BIBLIOGRAPHY, of the Consejo Superior De Investigaciones Cientificas, Madrid

Aguilera, Emiliano. *Tiziano: Su vida su obra y su arte.* Barcelona, 1952.

A critical and biographical study of the great artist.

Beltrán de Heredia, Vicente. *Fray Francisco de Vitoria, burgalés.* Contradición y réplica, respectivamente por los RR.PP Vicente Beltrán de Heredia y Manuel Maria de los Hoyos, O. P. Burgos, 1952.

A controversy about the birthplace of the famous jurist.

Cabanelas Rodriguez, Darió. *Juan de Segovia y el problema islamico,* por Darió Cabanelas Rodriguez, O.F.M. Introd. by Emilio Garcia Gomez. Madrid: Universidad de Madrid, Facultad de Filosofia y letres, 1952. 392 pp. (illus.).

A well-documented doctoral dissertation on the effort of Juan of Segovia, Spanish cardinal and theologian of the first half of the fifteenth century, to reconcile the Catholic and Islamic faiths, and on his translation of the Koran into Latin and Castilian. Eleven letters of Juan of Segovia are included in an appendix.

Cuartero y Huerto, Baltasar. *El pacto de los Toros de Guisando y la venta del mismo nombre.* Madrid, 1952.

A critical study of all the contemporary as well as later documents dealing with the famous pact. The author deduces that the pact was signed in an abandoned inn whose foundations he has discovered.

Diaz Santillana, Santos. *El Emperador. Biografía y anecdotario de Carlos I de España y V de Alemania,* por Santos Diaz Santillana. Barcelona-Ayax, 1952. 61 pp. (illus.)

After a biographical sketch, the author points out the most important qualities of magnificence, dynamism, skill, prudence, courage, and religiousness of the Emperor, as deduced from facts and from famous comments made during his reign.

Gallego Burin, Antonio. *La Capilla real de Granada.* Madrid.

Extensive study and description of the building, based on documentary sources. History of the projects, vicissitudes, and existing construction, with a detailed description of all the parts of the chapel and of its painting, sculpture, and gold and silver work.

Majo Framis, Ricardo. *Américo Vespucio.* Madrid.

An extensive and thoroughly documented biography of the Florentine navigator and pilot major; critical description of the four voyages; the coining of the name "America"; and the sixteenth-century European controversy over Vespucci.

Perez Ruiz, Pedro Antonio. *La Fé, la*

Historio y el Arte en al antiguo convento de Predicatores de Valencia. Introd. by Rafael Gayano Lluck. Valencia, 1952.

History and description of the Dominican convent of Valencia where St. Vincent Ferrer and St. Louis Beltran lived. Discussion of the Gothic cloister, the capitular hall, and the Chapel of the Kings built by Alfonso V and Juan II. Biographies of the saints mentioned complete the work.

Prawdin, Michael. *Juana la Loca.* Tr. by Eduardo Valenti. Barcelona.

A literary biography inspired by an unconditional admiration of the ill-fated queen.

Rodríguez Fornos, Consuelo. *El nensaje de Isabel de España. La cultura, la mujer, y la hispanidad.* Valencia, 1952.

This pamphlet is a good study of the psychology of the great queen.

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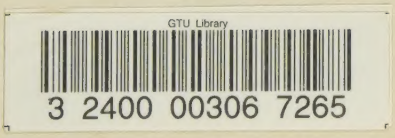
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